The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 10, 1887.

The Week.

THE President supplemented his active exercise of the veto power during the last two years by an application of the "pocket veto" to the River and Harbor Bill in the closing days of the session. This was a great public service. The bill was not only objectionable for the usual faults of log-rolling extravagance, but it was especially offensive because it committed the Government to the outrageous Hennepin Canal scheme. There is enough money left over from last year's bill for most of the work which ought to be done, and the remainder can better wait than to have jobs like the Hennepin Canal saddled upon the Treasury. The failure of the two houses to agree upon any fortification bill is unfortunate, but it is better than would have been their harmony upon some of the wild schemes which have been canvassed. Through such harmony at the very end, after a prolonged squabble, over $11,000,000 was appropriated for a new naval establishment in a happy-go-lucky fashion which cannot be too severely condemned.

The current discussion as to the possibility of the President's making the River and Harbor Bill a law by affixing his signature days after the expiration of the Congress which passed it, is one which ought to bear fruit. Mr. Willis, the Chairman of the House Committee which prepared the bill, has made a study of the subject, and insists that, should the bill receive the President's signature within ten days from its presentation to him, no doubt could be cast upon its validity as a law by the courts. In support of this, he has called Mr. Cleveland's attention to decisions of the highest courts of Georgia, Louisiana, and some other States, sustaining the validity of laws signed by the Chief Executives of those States after adjournment of the Legislature, and he maintains that in the Constitution of all such States there is a method prescribed by which bills shall become laws substantially like that in the Federal Constitution. He claims that the Supreme Court of the United States has already virtually decided this question, by declaring with one voice a certain law upon the statute-books of the State of Illinois to be valid, though it was signed by the Governor after the Legislature had adjourned, the constitutional method of making laws in Illinois being practically the same as that indicated in article 1, section 7, of the Federal Constitution. A case is also cited where President Lincoln signed a bill after the adjournment of Congress which was held to be a valid law, though this precedent is rendered of little account by the fact that Congress subsequently passed an act specifically legalizing his course in the matter.

It is safe to say that all these pleas will avail nothing with Mr. Cleveland, supposing him to wish the River and Harbor Bill to become a law, which is not the case. With the single exception of the Lincoln case referred to above, it appears to have been always held that the President's prerogative of participation in the legislation of Congress lapsed with the adjournment of that body, and this is certainly the most natural interpretation to place upon the language used in the Constitution: "If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, *in which case it shall not be a law.*" It would be anomalous, if not unjustifiable, for a President at this late day to assume the possession of a power which was not supposed to inhere in his predecessors during a period covering almost a century. But there is a great deal to be said in favor of an amendment to the Constitution which will explicitly confer upon the President the power of signing bills after the adjournment of Congress, not merely for ten days, but for a month. The provision of the New York State Constitution upon this subject, as amended in 1874, adopts the language of the Federal Constitution just quoted almost verbatim, and then adds: "No bill shall become a law after the final adjournment of the Legislature, unless approved by the Governor within thirty days after such adjournment." A similar power was vested in the Governor of Pennsylvania by the new Constitution adopted in 1873. In each case the system has worked greatly to the public advantage in these States, and it is obvious that the extension of a similar power to the President would work equally well in national affairs.

With this should be joined the provision incorporated in the New York State Constitution, that "if any bill presented to the Governor [President] contain several items of appropriation of money, he may object to one or more of such items, while approving of the other portion of the bill." If these two provisions were now a part of the Constitution, Mr. Cleveland might at his leisure go through the River and Harbor Bill, veto the Hennepin Canal job and other objectionable items, and, by approving the remainder, secure all the good of the measure without any of its harm. An amendment covering these two points, of thirty days after a session for the consideration of bills and of power to veto separate items in appropriation bills, ought to be started on its passage by the Fiftieth Congress. Public sentiment would compel its ratification by the Legislatures of the various States.

The fact is not yet appreciated that the President's attitude towards the pension craze did more than simply block the passage of the Pauper Pension Bill. It was Mr. Cleveland's position which also killed the arrears job. It will be remembered that Mr. Ingalls secured the passage, in the Senate, of a motion discharging the Pension Committee from all further consideration of the bill repealing the limitation of time contained in the original Arrears Act of 1879, and everything indicated that the demagogues, who are always bidding for "the soldier vote," would be able to rush the scheme through both branches. But the veto of the Pauper Pension Bill arrested the progress of the arrears job, and it was never more heard of. This was a most indefensible measure. Senator Sherman three years ago properly characterized it when he said: "I deny in toto that there is any obligation in law or in morals or in good faith to our soldiers to remove the restrictions of existing law. It is not right for the soldier to apply for arrears." Mr. Sherman further showed that the repeal would probably mulct the Treasury in the enormous sum of $246,000,000. And yet there is no doubt that, if Mr. Blaine had been elected President, this bill would have gone through Congress and have been signed, the platform of the Republican National Convention in 1884 having declared that "the Republican party pledges itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the Arrears Act of 1879." The salvation of the country from this $246,000,000 arrears job, as well as from the $70,000,000 or $75,000,000 annual addition to the pension roll involved in the Pauper Pension Bill, is thus due solely to the defeat of the Republican candidate for the Presidency in 1884.

The repeal of the Tenure-of-Office Act during the last days of the recent Congress solved one question that might have caused perplexity, namely, the President's right to fill, after the adjournment of the Senate and without calling an extra session, an office created by the Congress just adjourned. One section of that act, after giving the President authority to fill vacancies happening during a recess of the Senate, went on to say: "And if no appointment by and with the advice and consent of the Senate is made to an office so vacant or temporarily filled during such next session of the Senate, the office shall remain in abeyance, without any salary, fees, or emoluments," etc. Constitutional lawyers like Senator Edmunds have held very strenuously that under this provision the President could not fill a new office temporarily without the Senate's consent, and fears have been expressed that in this way the new United States Judgeship for this district, just created by Congress, would have to await a nomination until the Senate meets again. The removal of this nice legal point from the realm of discussion is only one of the benefits resulting from the repeal of the out-of-date Tenure-of-Office Act.

If Mr. George Frisbie Hoar possessed any sense of humor, he could hardly have had the assurance requisite for his performance in executive session of the Senate on Friday. During the campaign of 1884 nobody was more sure than the Massachusetts Bourbon that the election of Mr. Cleveland meant the relegation of the colored race to a condition of political if not indeed of physical servitude. On Friday Mr. Hoar rose to urge the confirmation, for the lucrative office of Recorder of Deeds in the District of Columbia, of a negro nominated for

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that position by Mr. Cleveland, vouching for his good character, and declaring that he "had received letters from scores of the best people of Massachusetts commending the appointment." The Republican majority of the Senate yielded to the insistence of Mr. Hoar and Mr. Dawes upon Mr. Trotter's confirmation; but their retreat from the original rejection of a negro for the office simply because he was a Democratic negro, comes too late to affect the conclusion of all intelligent negroes in the matter. The Matthews rejection broke down the color line, and the Trotter confirmation cannot restore it.

The long struggle over the question of retaliatory measures towards Canada because of her course in the fishery matter ended in the acceptance by the House of the Senate bill, which authorizes the President to prohibit Canadian vessels from entering American ports, and to prohibit Canadian fish, fresh or salt, and, if he wishes, all other Canadian products, from coming into this country, but does not authorize the exclusion of Canadian locomotives and cars from the United States, which last would practically amount to declaring absolute non-intercourse between the two countries. It seems doubtful whether occasion will arise for the President to exercise the power vested in him. Congress evidently does not consider that such an exigency exists, or it would itself have employed its prerogative of suspending commercial relations; and it will require a very strong case to compel Mr. Cleveland to use the extraordinary authority thus surrendered to him by Congress.

The Committee of the House which was sent out some months ago to investigate the causes and extent of the railroad strike in the Southwest, has presented its report, which contains nothing very new. It estimates the loss of the strike to the strikers at about $900,000; the loss to the men who did not strike but were thrown out of employment by the strike, at $500,000; the loss to the Missouri Pacific Railroad at $2,800,000. The total ascertainable cost of the strike was thus $4,200,000. The loss to the public through the stoppage or derangement of business is of course not ascertainable, but the Committee estimate it at "millions of dollars." It must be remembered, too, that the leader and author of all this mischief, Martin Irons, was and is now literally a drunken vagabond. The Committee, while acknowledging fully the lawfulness of strikes and of combinations to strike, condemn in the most unqualified terms the use of violence or of any species of coercion to compel men to strike, or to prevent their taking the place of strikers if so minded.

This is all, however, now a tolerably old story. The report is mainly interesting as furnishing a good illustration of what the effect of the continued or increased discontent of manual laborers on property and industry would be. Many people suppose, and many lecturers and writers talk, as if it were all going to end in some great revolution, or catastrophe, or cataclysm, in which society would somehow be turned upside down, and the workingmen all ride in carriages, and have boxes at the opera, while the capitalists would go afoot and sit in the upper gallery. There is not the least likelihood of anything of the kind. What we have to expect, if the intelligence of workingmen does not increase, is simply a frequent repetition in various branches of trade or industry of strikes like that on the Southwestern railroads. The effect of this would be simply a considerable diminution in the rate of material progress, increased reluctance on the part of capital to invest in permanent enterprises, and a gradual decline in profits and wages. The United States, in other words, would become a much less prosperous country than they have been during the past fifty years. Their industrial condition would approximate to that of France or Germany or Italy under huge standing armies. The protracted presence of a large discontented, unintelligent, and unreasonable laboring population would produce almost precisely the same effects in trade and industry as large armaments and constant fear of foreign wars produce in those of European countries. Confidence in the future, which is the life of trade, would be greatly lessened, and the hopefulness which breeds the national energy would cease to be a national characteristic. Social cataclysms, in fact, are just as rare as physical ones.

The effort to increase wages by sheer force—and that wages are arbitrarily fixed and can be increased by sheer force, is the fallacy which underlies all the mistakes made by the labor organizations—never led to a more instructive failure than the failure of the workmen in the shoe factories at Haverhill, Mass. Haverhill was the home of a large and prosperous portion of the shoemakers of New England. But within the last two years manufacturers who made a million dollars' worth of shoes a year have moved their factories to other towns, and there is now work for 600 fewer shoemakers in Haverhill than there was two years ago; there is, too, imminent danger of another exodus of "capitalists." The machinery for making shoes is not difficult to transplant, and the business can be carried on at one town as well as at another if the manufacturers are permitted to enjoy "natural advantages." The "natural advantage" in this case is not free land, but free labor. The labor of Haverhill was enslaved by an organization which also took away the freedom of the manufacturers to employ labor, to discharge it, or to fix the price for it as their business demanded. That "capitalists" have gone from a community where they were thus hampered, is not the most significant result of this effort to raise wages by sheer force, for the working people who were denied employment have also gone to smaller towns, and have done the same kind of work for less pay. Every pair of shoes made by them has driven a pair made by the union workmen at Haverhill out of the market. Middle men in the trade are now taking a greater share of the profits than the large manufacturers took; for the small trader, who is neither Labor nor Capital, but a mere handler of the products of both, who has well nigh been made useless by good commercial organization, is getting what ought to go into the savings banks from the working people, and into dividends for the capitalists. Haverhill is simply going back from the period of savings banks, and good wages, and dividends, and commercial organization to the period of the cobbler in his hut.

A short time since, the Department of State, in reply to a query from our Consul-General at Shanghai, concerning the construction of the Chinese Immigration Acts of 1882 and 1884, decided that Chinese nurses or body-servants were not such "laborers" as to come within the prohibitions of our law. The Treasury Department, having been requested by the Secretary of State to give effect to this decision, by instructing collectors of customs to permit the landing of such persons, referred the matter to the Attorney-General for his opinion. That officer has sustained the decision of the Department of State, and our port officers will be requested, in a circular letter soon to be issued by the Treasury, to let all Chinamen of this class come upon our soil. It seems, however, that body-servants are permitted, under this ruling, only to visit our shores, not to become permanent residents; and in no event are they to cease to be body-servants. They are allowed to come because they are "menials"; they must not dare to aspire to the grade of "laborers." A few years ago it was decided, as may be remembered, that Chinese laborers might be permitted to go through our territory to Canada, provided they secured "through" tickets, but that in no case should they be allowed to "stop over." They were required to be shipped, as one may say, in "sealed cars." Now we have another relaxation. Those of them who do not compete with any American laborers, except that contemptible class which "wears the garb of the serf," may attend their employers who come to the United States, but they must go back to China as soon as they doff this garb. What will happen if Chinese nurses and body-servants should dare to change their occupations, or refuse to depart with their masters who embark again for China, we should not like to say.

The Field Code unexpectedly passed the Assembly on Thursday, after it had been apparently hopelessly lost the day before. In the course of a single hour, its promoter, very young Mr. Ives, rose from the position of a discredited blockhead to that of an able and acute manager. All this was due to his physical energy and activity in hunting up six more votes for the bill in the lobbies and purlieus of the Capitol. These six voters knew and cared no more about the comparative value of the code and of the common law than of the comparative merits of the German and French guns. What they sought was to please the indefatigable Ives, and to do this they were doubtless willing either to make a radical change in the laws of a great commercial community, or go out and take a drink with him. The whole affair is really a dreadful farce. Whether the bill will pass the Senate under these circumstances we do not know.

The successful carrying out of the Republican plan to end the Senatorial contest in New

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Jersey would be a subject of congratulation for many reasons, even if the Democrat who was elected by Republican support gave less promise of a satisfactory course at Washington than does Mr. Blodgett. A man of higher character than ex-Gov. Abbett has proved himself to be would have deserved defeat, after lending himself to the consummation of so foul a plot as the theft of the Camden County seat in the Assembly. This offence is concededly so gross an outrage that the condemnation of it in all political circles is likely to prevent another attempt of the kind for many years in New Jersey. Mr. Blodgett is still to be tested as a national lawmaker. But men of sound judgment, who have had business relations with him, say that, while lacking educational advantages and by no means an ideal Senator, he is independent and incorruptible, a man who knows his own mind and will not yield his opinions to the dictation of any "boss." He is in one sense a "railroad man," that is, he has for several years been in the employ of a railroad at a moderate salary. But it is said that he will not be a "railroad Senator," as so many of his predecessors have been. The Republican party in New Jersey will undoubtedly be strengthened by the defeat of Senator Sewell for a re-election, and it will have a better chance to elect a Senator in 1889, when Mr. McPherson's time expires, than if it had put a man of its own politics into the office now, by securing the necessary votes through questionable means.

We must defer till next week any careful estimate of the late Henry Ward Beecher's quality both as a preacher and writer and as a man. In bidding him farewell, the American people take leave, one may safely say, of the last of a grand generation—the most trumpet-tongued of all the orators who wrought the great revolution in politics, and we may add in morals, of which the war was but the outward and visible sign. His faults, like his virtues, were very conspicuous, and everybody heard enough of them in his lifetime. But, take him for all in all the American people will hardly ever look on his like again—will hardly ever see in pulpit or on platform any one who could so easily put an audience into the heroic mood, and who on the whole used his great power for such noble ends. The conditions under which such orators as he were bred are wholly changed, and any one who heard Beecher at his best may feel sure that he has had an experience of which the next generation will know nothing.

The death of such a man afflicts the public not only in what it takes away, but in what it brings, in the rush of little people anxious to attract notice, if but for a moment, by some association of themselves with the great man. There is reason to anticipate on the present occasion a horde of these mortuary speculators unusual in numbers and eagerness, for Mr. Beecher's eminence and singular prominence afford almost unique opportunity and temptation, while the people, as a class, who were nearly associated with him in life are not distinguished for the qualities of reserve and restraint. Accordingly there are already portentous signs of Personal Reminiscences, Recollections, Impressions, Sayings and Doings, etc., designed chiefly not to throw new light on Mr. Beecher, but to explain that the narrator was honored with his friendship. We hope the newspapers will as far as possible disappoint these lovers of notoriety.

There is an undeniable nervousness on the part of many Mexican politicians over the question of the succession to President Diaz. The experiment of 1880, in choosing a mediocre lieutenant to keep the executive chair warm for his chief for four years, was not satisfactory to either Gen. Diaz or the country. The difficulties in the way of a discreet choice, which will have to be made two years hence unless some way can be devised of getting round the constitutional prohibition of re-election, are already seen to be enormous. They were reflected in last fall's excited talk about making Diaz Dictator. A more sober manifestation of the vague apprehension with which the close of the President's term is anticipated appears in the proposed amendment to the Constitution recently urged by the Legislature of the State of Puebla upon the attention of the Permanent Deputation of the Federal Congress. In Mexico, under section 65 of the Constitution, the right to introduce bills in Congress is accorded to the legislatures of the States, and in pursuance of that privilege the Puebla Legislature now asks that article 78 of the Constitution, fixing the Presidential term, be so amended that the term of office of any incumbent can be prolonged to six years if Congress so votes. This proposition passed the Legislature of Puebla nearly a year ago, but, owing to private assurances from Gen. Diaz that he did not favor the movement, and to the open opposition of the Government organ at that time, the matter was dropped and was supposed to be killed. Its revival now and presentation in Congress, with the silence thus far of the *Diario Oficial*, are giving rise to much speculation. President Diaz would doubtless find no difficulty in getting Congress to vote him two years more of power, or anything else he might ask; but what would he do with article 14 of the Constitution, which forbids the enactment of a retroactive law?

The signs of war in the East between Austria and Russia appear now to be as strong as the signs of war between France and Germany were three weeks ago. The military revolt at Silistria and Rustchuk was undoubtedly set on foot by Russian agents, and if it be true that similar outbreaks are occurring elsewhere, the remarks of the *Journal de St.-Pétersbourg*, that "the riot" was not unexpected, and that it is to be hoped the people will be spared the horrors of civil war, point clearly enough to the conclusion that there is shortly to be "anarchy" enough in Bulgaria to make it seem to the Czar his imperative duty to occupy the country he has rescued from the Turks. That the Rumanians, Servians, and Bulgarians will make common cause with the Austrians in preventing his doing anything of the sort, there appears to be little doubt. If he makes the attempt, it will probably be the result of an assurance that Germany will not interfere with him or allow France to do so. Bismarck's "What do we care about Bulgaria?" was probably a most pregnant observation; anyhow, the materials for a tremendous blaze are all ready for the match. The Hungarian Parliament has voted all the credits asked for by the War Minister.

The last number of the *Nouvelle Revue* contains an interesting speculation by M. Henri des Houx, under the signature of "Paul Vasili," in answer to the question, Who will be the next Pope?—a question of daily increasing importance in view of the condition of the present Pope's health. He says there are three elements to be considered in the College of Cardinals: (1) the purely Roman element which surrounds the Papal throne, does the work of the Congregations, and depends entirely on the Pope; (2) the Italian element formed by the archbishops and bishops of Italy, who are subject to the exequatur of the Italian Government, and as much dependent on the King as on the Pope; (3) the foreign element, composed of the foreign cardinals—that is, of archbishops and bishops either in Catholic or non-Catholic States. The Romans make up a little more than half of the Sacred College—that is, about forty out of the seventy cardinals All are not Italians. There are ten of them resident in Rome, of whom four are Germans, one Russian, one Austrian, one English, one Pole, two French; the German element thus predominating. The Italian cardinals are nine in number. All of them, except the Archbishop of Palermo, who is wholly independent of the Italian Government, naturally feel kindly towards the Power which supports them. Seven of these are known to be in favor of a reconciliation between the Vatican and the Quirinal, and it is from these, of course, that the Italian Government will select the candidate which it will support.

The non-resident cardinals number twenty-five, of whom five are Austrians, four English, and sixteen belong to Latin nations other than Italy. These could exert a very powerful influence on the election if they would act together, but of this there is no chance. They are sure to be divided, so that the Romans and Italians will hold the balance of power, which is another way of saying that the contest will be between Italy and Germany, for Germany dominates among the Romans as Italy does among the Italians. There has been a very widespread disposition in Europe, since the capture of Rome by the Italians, to treat the political importance of the Pope to foreign nations as a thing of the past; but the recent Papal meddling in the German elections shows that Popes may still take a hand in electioneering with more or less effect, and that it is still worth the while of States containing a considerable Catholic population to bring influence to bear on the Conclave. If Bismarck feels that he has really owed something to the Pope's support in the recent canvass, there is little doubt that he or his successor will try to have a German candidate for the place of Leo XIII., and push him by any of the means which have hitherto been successful in helping the cardinals to a choice.

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SUMMARY OF THE WEEK'S NEWS.

[WEDNESDAY, March 2, to TUESDAY, March 8, 1887, inclusive.]

DOMESTIC.

THE Forty-ninth Congress adjourned on March 4, as required by law. There was as usual an all-night session preceding the day of adjournment, and much important business was transacted during the closing hours. The most important measure among the last that were enacted was the repeal of the Tenure-of-Office acts, whereby the power is restored to the President of making removals from office at all times without the consent of the Senate, a power which the Presidents before Andrew Johnson had. The bill for the redemption of trade dollars and the Anti-Polygamy Bill became laws without the President's signature. The River and Harbor Bill failed to become a law, because it was not signed by the President within the required time, and neither the Fortification Bill of the House nor that of the Senate was passed, because of a disagreement in the Conference Committee. After an unfavorable report by the Committee on the District of Columbia, the Senate confirmed the nomination of James M. Trotter, of Massachusetts, the second colored man selected by the President to be Recorder of Deeds of the District.

The bill authorizing the President to take severe retaliatory measures against Canada, which is a product of the fisheries dispute, was signed by the President before Congress adjourned. The Montreal *Gazette*, commenting on it, says that it does "not know whether the solution of the fisheries trouble will be made more difficult or rendered easier" by this action; and it adds: "Canada feels that she is right. She cannot agree to yield to coercion, in whatever form it may be presented, the advantages that by her construction of the treaty pertain exclusively to her own people." The British press has made no comment.

The Committee of the House of Representatives which made an investigation of the strike last year of railway employees in the Southwest, has reported that the loss to the 9,000 strikers was $900,000; to the non-striking employees, who were deprived of work, not less than $500,000; and to the Missouri Pacific Railroad Company, $2,800,000.

Gen. J. J. Finley has been appointed by Gov. Perry of Florida United States Senator to succeed Charles W. Jones, whose term expired on March 4. Gen. Finley has been a judge of the Supreme Court of Florida and a member of Congress.

The long deadlock in the New Jersey Legislature caused by the effort to elect a United States Senator to succeed Senator Sewell was ended March 2 by the selection of Rufus Blodgett, Democrat, who is Superintendent of the New York and Long Branch Railroad.

The Democratic State Convention of Rhode Island on March 8 nominated John W. Davis, of Pawtucket, for Governor.

An investigation of the conduct of the municipal government of Brooklyn by a special committee of the New York Assembly was begun on March 4.

The Supreme Court of the United States on March 7 handed down a decision in a case brought from Tennessee, which involved the right of one State or municipality to impose a license tax on travelling salesmen from another State seeking to sell goods by sample or otherwise. The decision is that such taxation is an interference with inter-State commerce, and is, therefore, unconstitutional.

There is a threatening strike by employees of the railroad companies at Youngstown, O., which was begun by the brakemen on the freight trains of one road, who insisted that an extra man should be employed on all freight and yard "crews." The conductors and brakemen on other roads joined the strikers on Monday and demanded higher wages. A blockade of freight was caused, and fears are entertained of a general strike of railway employees on the great through-lines west of Pittsburgh.

The printers belonging to the Typographical Union in all the newspaper and job-printing offices in Milwaukee struck on March 2, and their places were soon filled by non-union printers.

Quiet has not yet been permanently restored in Cambridge, Mass., where the street-car drivers have so long been on a strike. On Sunday one horse-car was almost wrecked, and the driver was badly hurt.

Several hundred plasterers of Pittsburgh have seceded from the Knights of Labor because of the expensiveness of membership therein.

During the winter hog-packing season, which recently closed in Chicago, 700,000 fewer hogs were killed than during the last season. The cause of this decrease was the great strike at the stock yards and its effect upon the Chicago market. The loss in wages is computed at $700,000, and at least 5,000 men, skilled and unskilled, who were employed last season, failed to find work.

A large meeting of Socialists was held in Chicago on Sunday, to discuss a measure pending in the Illinois Legislature to punish the authors of inflammatory speeches or writings. Very radical addresses were delivered in English, German, and Bohemian. Currlin, editor of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, advised his hearers to procure arms and carry them. Another speaker, an Englishman, declared that the Socialists had a right to preach treason and the overthrow of society and the constituted authorities. Sooner than see the bill pass, he would take arms in hand and preach revolution.

Three unsuccessful efforts to destroy the property of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company at Jersey City were made on March 4 and 5. On one of the ferry-boats that run between Jersey City and Courtlandt Street, New York, a bottle was found which contained a combustible substance, and two appliances for setting fire to the Jersey City depot were discovered.

The total snowfall at Minneapolis this winter has been 68½ inches, and there have been 104 days of continuous sleighing. Between Mankato and Tracy, Minn., the snow drifts are in many cases six feet above the tops of the telegraph poles. In Newcastle and Chatham, New Brunswick, the snow is piled up to the second-story windows of houses, and communication with outlying points has been almost entirely cut off.

The overflow of the Mississippi River has inundated many miles of railroad between Memphis and Madison, Ark. The west bank of the river, from its confluence with the Missouri to Memphis, is almost wholly under water.

The Texas express on the Iron Mountain Railroad, which left St. Louis on Saturday night, plunged through a bridge over Joachim Creek, drowning two persons and wounding twenty-five. A freshet had undermined the supports of the bridge.

There is alarm over the attitude of the Indians in Rolette County, Dak., where the half-breeds have refused to pay their taxes, and the militia has been ordered to be ready for service.

Harvard College has received a large sum of money, known as the Boyden bequest, which will be devoted to astronomical research in the southern hemisphere. The suggestion in the will, that the expenditure of the income shall be for investigations in high altitudes as free as possible from adverse atmospheric influences, leaves the trustees perfectly free to select a site anywhere in the world that may be deemed most desirable. It is probable that some elevation of the Andes range in Peru will be chosen. Prof. Edward C. Pickering will have charge of the new observatory.

Prof. E. R. Sill, who was an occasional contributor to the *Nation*, both as a reviewer and as a correspondent, died at Cleveland, O., on February 27. He was graduated at Yale in 1861, in a class that has perhaps contributed more professors to the colleges of the country than any other college class that ever graduated. He was for several years Professor of English Literature in the University of California, but resigned not long after President Gilman left it for Johns Hopkins University. After the resignation of his professorship he retired to Cuyahoga Falls, O., and led the life of a close student. Some of those best qualified to judge believe that in his premature death American thought as well as American letters has sustained a grievous loss.

The wife of Senator Beck, of Kentucky, died in Washington on Sunday. She was the grand-niece and nearest living descendant of George Washington. Mrs. Ruth Harmon, maternal grandmother of Mrs. Grover Cleveland, died at her home in Jackson, Mich., on the same day. Charles J. Peterson, the Philadelphia publisher, died on March 4.

Commodore Edward P. Lull, United States Navy, who died at Pensacola, Fla., on March 5, was born in Vermont in 1836, and had spent his life in the naval service. He served on board the *Brooklyn* at the battle of Mobile Bay, August 5, 1864. In 1872–'74 he commanded the expedition which surveyed a route for a ship canal across the Isthmus of Nicaragua.

The Rev. Henry Ward Beecher died at his residence in Brooklyn on March 8, of apoplexy. He was born June 24, 1813.

FOREIGN.

After many months of quiet in the East, the condition of Bulgaria has again threatened the peace of Europe. There have been revolts against the Government of the Regency which it is suspected were instigated by Russia. The telegraphic reports are conflicting in details, but the following facts have been reported directly from Sofia as well as from most of the European capitals. On February 28 there was an insurrection at Silistria. The Government of the town was seized by the insurgents. Loyalist troops from adjacent towns, most of them from Rustchuk, suppressed the revolt. The commander of the garrison was killed, and perhaps others. While the troops were absent from Rustchuk a more formidable revolt was made there. The barracks were seized, the officers were arrested, but the people took arms against the insurgents, and the fighting continued throughout Wednesday, March 2. Then the insurgents, who were attempting to retreat across the Danube, were compelled by the heavy firing from the shore to desert their boats and take refuge on an island. Most of them were wounded and all were captured, and the authority of the Regents was restored. The killed and wounded at Rustchuk numbered 100. Rumors have come of insurrections at other garrisons. These revolts have caused fresh preparations for war to be made by all the Governments most directly interested. The Emperor of Austria has held a military council, and decided to appoint several officers for the superior commands in the event of war. Wooden huts for troops have been erected in Galicia. Servia has sent troops to the frontier. From St. Petersburg, military movements towards the Galician frontier are reported to be continuous. Significance is attached to the statement by the *Journal de St.-Petersbourg* that "Russia considers the occurrences at Silistria a fresh proof of Bulgaria's abnormal condition."

Nine officers and civilians concerned in the revolt at Rustchuk were shot on Sunday. The news comes by way of Paris that the political prisoners arrested in Sofia for participation in the revolt, were whipped with knouts during the entire night following their arrest, and that five officers died from the effects of this torture.

The Bulgarian revolt and the universal sus-

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picion that it was instigated by Russia have caused continued discussion of war, no longer between France and Germany, but between Russia and Austria-Hungary. The *Kölnische Zeitung* (Berlin) warns Russia that even German patience towards neighbors has limits, and says: "If Russia compels Germany to take account of a Franco-Russian agreement, let her beware lest she may herself have to consider a hostile Germany." And the *Kreuz-Zeitung* reports that letters from St. Petersburg state that the general hatred of Germany and the popularity of France are becoming a sort of violent epidemic in Russia.

The new German Reichstag was opened on March 3. The Emperor's speech was read from the throne. He expressed gratification at the benevolent disposition the Pope had shown, and asserted that the foreign policy of the empire was continually directed to the maintenance of peace, especially with Germany's neighbors. The Reichstag was further assured that if, without hesitation or division, it gives unanimous expression to the resolve that the nation will put forth its full strength now and at all times against any attack upon the frontiers, such resolution, even before carried out, will materially strengthen the guarantees of peace and remove the doubts which the late parliamentary debates may have inspired. In diplomatic circles the speech was considered more peaceable than had been expected, but the Liberal newspapers of Berlin have said that the vague reference to foreign relations is not likely to calm the public mind. On March 4, Herr Wedell Presdorf was elected President of the Reichstag. Dr. Windthorst protested against the election of a President before the second ballots were concluded. Minister von Bötticher replied that any such criticism was an encroachment upon the rights of the Emperor, because when his Majesty summoned the Reichstag the members were bound to appear. The complete returns of the German elections (including the second elections) are: Conservative 81, Imperialist 39, National Liberal 100, Centre 97, New German Liberal 34, Polish 15, Protester 15, Socialist 11, Guelph 4, and Danish 1. Total, 397. There were cast 1,877,969 more votes than at the preceding general election. The increases are: Conservative 333,441, Imperialist 305.508, National Liberals 661,125, Democratic 13,481 Centre 248,701, Polish 9,438, Socialist 224,192, Protester 82,083. There was a decrease in the New German Liberal vote of 447,702. The Emperor, upon hearing the result of the elections, remarked that the news made him feel twenty years younger, and that the people could not have made him a handsomer birthday present.

The Septennate Bill was introduced in the Reichstag on March 7 by Gen. von Schellendorf, Minister of War, who said in his speech: "Let us forget what has passed. There is no doubt about the acceptance of the bill, but the greater the majority it receives the more significant will be its success." Herr Richter, the new German Liberal leader, declared his intention to reintroduce his former motions, and, if they should be rejected, to vote against the Septennate Bill. The Socialists condemned the bill on account of the great financial burden it imposed upon the people. The final passage of the measure is now a matter of form. No new taxes will be levied to meet the additional expense, which will be covered by a loan.

The Emperor of Germany has ordered a deputation from the Czar's Prussian regiment, equipped with the new repeating rifles, to present themselves before the Czar at Gatchina on the Emperor's birthday.

Gen. Boulanger has issued an order forbidding any officer of the French army to have in his service a foreigner of either sex. This order was provoked by Gen. Davoust, who had as governess for his children the wife of a German officer.

Paul Henri Féval, one of the most prolific of French writers of fiction, died March 8, in his seventieth year. His 'Mysteries of London,' edited and mainly written by him for M. Joly, was the talk of its day, ran through twenty editions, and was translated into several languages. After 1855 Feval turned his attention to historical writing, and published a 'History of the Ministry,' and a 'History of the Parliamentary Government of France.' He continued to write fiction, however, producing a novel a year for the greater part of his active life.

On March 5 the resignation was announced of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach from the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland, and he was succeeded by the Right Hon. Arthur J. Balfour, Secretary of State for Scotland, who is a nephew of Lord Salisbury. Sir Michael is suffering with cataract over both eyes, but the real cause of his retirement is thought to be his breaking down under the uncommon mental strain of the post of Secretary for Ireland in the Conservative Cabinet.

Preceding and following Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's resignation, the Irish question caused very spirited discussion in and out of Parliament. There was an angry debate in the House of Commons on March 3 between Sir Michael and Mr. Dillon about the vote of £30,000 for the Irish police, for which the Government asked and which was granted. Mr. Dillon said that the greater portion of the money hitherto granted had been spent in endeavoring to suppress public meetings and in carrying on the work of eviction; and that the Government avoided indicating the sums spent on evictions. Sir Michael contended that the expenditures for the Irish police were necessary to maintain order, and he declared that the speech which Mr. Dillon had just made afforded additional proof of the absolute necessity of giving further powers to the Government, and he concluded his speech with a threat of military force in Ireland. Cries, shouts, and defiant gestures were freely exchanged by both sides of the House.

The Marquis of Lothian has been selected as Mr. Balfour's successor as Secretary of State for Scotland. When Mr. Balfour, the new Secretary for Ireland, arrived at Dublin on March 7, the Municipal Council adopted a resolution to appeal to the free people of the world to prevent the British Government from carrying out their "threats of outrage against the Irish people.'

The British Cabinet at a special meeting decided to end the closure debate before the production of the Crimes Bill, to restrict the latter to clauses dealing with the changing of venue of jury trials and magistrates' powers in cases involving sentences of not more than six months, and not to prosecute Archbishop Croke. Lord Ashbourne has finished the Land Bill, extending the powers of purchase, and substituting five years' judicial leases for leases of fifteen years. Outside Parliament and the Cabinet meeting there has been no less active discussion. In letters and speeches, Viscount Lymington has protested against the Government's want of action, nerve, and courage, in paralyzing the Liberal-Unionist treatment of the Irish question. Sir William Vernon Harcourt has insisted that the troubles in Ireland arise from the attempt of the Government to enforce the payment of rents which their own land commission has declared the people are unable to pay; and Mr. Gladstone has repeated his conviction that "no great political matter can be dealt with till the Irish difficulty is settled." In a speech before the National Conservative Club on Saturday Lord Salisbury declared that the law machine in Ireland was paralyzed, because a jury refused to act, and that, before society could be restored to a healthy condition, that wheel must either be refitted or dispensed with; but nothing was possible until the efficiency of Parliament was restored.

In the country near Limerick a number of houses occupied by tenants, together with the out-buildings, were burned on the night of March 3, by armed incendiaries, who escaped. All the victims were persons who had paid their rents, and the outrages were thought by the people to have political significance, and the excitement was thus made the greater.

Archbishop Croke has written in explanation of his attitude on the Irish rent question that he has proposed nothing, nor made any recommendations about taxes; that he simply expressed an opinion concerning the relative value of a no-tax manifesto and a no-rent manifesto; that it never entered his head to recommend a general uprising against the payment of taxes, and that he trusts alone to constitutional agitation for the restoration of national rights in Ireland.

The first of Queen Victoria's jubilee drawing-room receptions was held at Buckingham Palace on March 3. The attendance was greater than at any preceding reception of the kind during the long reign of the Queen. Crowds congregated in the parks and roadways around the palace numbered many thousands, and court officials say that the reception was the most brilliant they ever attended.

A foreman employed in the Government works at Chatham, England, and a draughtsman have been dismissed for revealing important secret naval designs to the United States and Russian Governments.

George Franklin Anderson, an American, was convicted in London, on March 4, of swindling a client out of large sums of money under the pretence that he was prosecuting a suit for the recovery of a large English estate, which he had made his client believe he had inherited; and he was sentenced to five years' penal servitude. On the same day George F. Parker, Edwin S. Witherall, and George W. Gibbens, officers of a "British-American-Claim Agency," were arrested in New York on a charge of carrying on similar swindling operations.

King Oscar of Sweden has dissolved the Diet for refusing to vote the estimates asked by the Government.

A Nihilist plot has been discovered in Finland, and many students and artisans have been arrested in Uleaborg and Abo charged with conspiracy.

King Leopold on March 2 inspected a monument to Gen. Gordon, which has just been cast and which is to be set up in Westminster Abbey.

An explosion of fire-damp in a colliery at Quaregnon, in Brussels, March 5, entombed the miners, 144 of whom were suffocated.

The Queen of Spain has signed a decree making a 20 per cent. reduction in the export duties on sugar and tobacco shipped from Cuba.

A general election was held in Portugal on Sunday. The returns show the election of 108 Government and 36 Opposition Deputies. Two Republicans were elected in Lisbon.

The Pope has selected Mgr. Rampolla, the Nuncio at Madrid, to succeed the late Cardinal Jacobini as Pontifical Secretary of State.

Another slight shock of earthquake was felt at Nice on March 3, and at Charleston, S. C., on the same day. The people at Diano-Marina fear further disasters because the sea has not returned to its ordinary level. On March 5, a series of rather violent shocks were felt in Western Morea, in Greece. The inhabitants were terrified and many fled from the district.

The first steamer to pass the whole length of the Suez Canal by aid of the electric light did so on March 3 in fifteen hours.

It was reported from Bombay on March 3 that the Ameer of Afghanistan is making efforts to raise a new army. Boys between the ages of ten and eighteen years are drilling for service, and nearly all the able-bodied men are enrolled. The Ameer has issued a circular to his subjects telling them to prepare for a holy war. It was reported and subsequently denied that he contemplates a war against Russia.

Advices received by the Canadian Department of Agriculture indicate that the influx of immigrants from Europe to Canada will be greater this year than ever before.

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WHAT MR. CLEVELAND HAS DONE.

MR. CLEVELAND'S term is half gone. The occasion is appropriate for a review of his career in the White House.

First and most important among the achievements of his Administration must be accounted his contribution to the reform of the civil service, and its reëstablishment upon the business basis where Washington, Jefferson, and the other Presidents who were among the founders of the Republic, placed it. Mr. Cleveland came into power as the representative of a party which had long been in the opposition. The last previous change of party administration, when Lincoln was inaugurated had been characterized, like all others before it back to Jackson's day, by a "clean sweep" of the office-holders found in power. It was held, in 1861, that a man ought to lose his place simply because he was a Democrat and the new President was a Republican, just as in 1849 it had been held that a man "must go" because he was a Democrat, and a Whig had been elected President. Mr. Cleveland would only have followed precedent if he had turned all the Republicans out within three months. A large proportion of the Democratic party—and of the Republican party, too, for that matter—held that this was what Mr. Cleveland should have done in the spring of 1885, just as Republicans had maintained and Democrats had admitted, in 1861, that Lincoln ought to make a clean sweep, "according to the rules of war." For this was what politics in the United States had become before the advent of civil-service reform—a succession of pitched battles for the spoils, public office being regarded not as a public trust, but as a partisan possession, to be fought for every four years.

What has Mr. Cleveland done? In the great post-offices of the country, which are the Federal offices that come home most closely to the people, he has allowed Republican incumbents to serve out their terms, except where offensive partisanship had forfeited claims to consideration, and now in 1887 the postmasters in scores of cities and large towns remain the same as when Mr. Cleveland was inaugurated. This is also true in the case of not a few other important Federal officials throughout the country, like the United States Marshals in Boston and Brooklyn, for two examples, while a considerable proportion of the chief bureau officials in the Washington departments still remain unchanged. Fully a third of the officials left in the consular service by Arthur retain their places. The thousands of clerks who were in the departments on the 4th of March, 1885, retain their places save where they have forfeited them through good cause. So also of the clerks in several great post-offices, like those in New York, Brooklyn, and Boston, and in the great Custom-houses in New York and Boston. A considerable percentage of the small post-offices throughout the country—as nearly as we can estimate, from the records for the last fiscal year, at least a third of the more than 50,000—have gone unchanged. Including all these various classes, it would appear that at least 30,000, and probably the number is nearer 40,000, of the 120,000 offices must still be held by the Republicans who occupied them two years ago.

Mr. Cleveland has thus overthrown the doctrine of a "clean sweep" throughout the country upon a change in party administration at Washington. And he has overthrown it for all time. A Republican President may succeed a Democratic in 1889, but he will not be able to do what the Republican President who succeeded a Democratic in 1861 did. He will not be able to do so because the public sentiment of the country will never again sustain, or even permit, a system of universal changes in the offices with a change of party representatives in the White House. Mr. Cleveland has not merely scotched the snake of a "clean sweep"—he has killed it. This is a great and permanent achievement, sufficient of itself always to distinguish Mr. Cleveland's Administration in history were death to end it to-day—an achievement in the face of a pressure so tremendous that those who did not know the man, might well have supposed him incapable of resisting it.

But Mr. Cleveland has done more than this for the reform. He has secured the execution of the Civil-Service Law, not merely in its letter, but in its spirit, in the Washington departments, in the chief custom-house and post-office in the country, and in other important custom-houses and post-offices. The two great business establishments of the Government in New York city are now conducted upon business principles; the same is true of Boston and Brooklyn and of some smaller cities. It is not true of the great Federal offices in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Indianapolis, and other places. Mr. Cleveland has been inconsistent; he has yielded occasionally to the influence of spoilsmen; he has thus much lowered the average which would otherwise have risen so very high. But, making all due allowances for these failures, it still remains true that he has established a firm foothold for the system of a business Administration. The system can never be dislodged in what were once the conspicuous strongholds of "patronage" where it is now entrenched, and it must inevitably, sooner or later, make conquest of the rest.

Mr. Cleveland has done the country a great service by taking a firm and pronounced stand against paternalism in government. The drift in this dangerous direction of late years had become steady and strong. There was a growing disposition on the part of everybody to resort to the general Government for anything—for school money in Southern States if it was hard for the States themselves to raise what was needed; for the support of any man in the North who ever had any connection with the army if he was now in trouble; for contributions of the public funds for any community which might have fallen into distress, through flood, drought, or other misfortune. The Pauper Pension Bill and the Texas Seed Bill embodied these vicious tendencies, and Mr. Cleveland's vetoes of those twin measures taught the same lesson to North and South alike. That lesson is, that "though the people support the Government, the Government should not support the people," and its reception by the country shows that it will be learned. The President has not merely blocked a petty $10,000 appropriation for Texas, or saved the Treasury from a tremendous onslaught of pension-beggars, but he has recalled the nation to its senses, and revived that "sturdiness of our national character" which appeared to be dangerously weakening.

Mr. Cleveland has removed the sectional and race issues from our politics. Hundreds of thousands of Republicans feared his accession to power chiefly because they dreaded the supremacy of the Solid South, and apprehended untold ills for the negro. Two years have sufficed to dispel these fears. The leading Republican papers of the North have endorsed the pension veto and declared that it ought to be sustained, and then they have seen it sustained chiefly by Southern votes, through the fear of "the soldier vote" on the part of Northern demagogues in Congress. After such an experience they can never raise the sectional howl successfully again. Indeed, it is admitted by all candid Republicans that the bloody shirt is buried. The best friends of the negro—such men as Gen. Armstrong of the Hampton Institute, for example, who has just described a tour through the South—bear witness that "a better feeling between the races is setting in," while the President's controversy with the Senate, regarding his colored nominees for Recorder of Deeds in Washington, has opened the eyes of the negro voters to the hypocrisy of Republican pretences in their behalf, and insured a division of the colored vote in 1888.

Mr. Cleveland has given the country a much-needed exhibition of courage and honesty in public life. His veto of the Pauper Pension Bill was a brave act, which was emphasized by the cowardice of the Congressmen who voted against their convictions to pass the bill over the veto, in obedience to the clamor of claim agents and Grand Army posts. The impression which he has made upon the country is that of an honest man who is trying to do his duty—making mistakes, committing blunders, turning from the straight line, at times, but on the whole holding pretty steadily to his course and making decided progress.

THE FORTY-NINTH CONGRESS.

THE Congress which expired at noon on Friday failed to discharge the chief duty imposed upon it. It found the revenues of the country far outrunning the reasonable requirements for the efficient support of the Government, and the public demanding a reduction of the surplus through a reform of the tariff—a demand so general that even the Republican party had felt bound to place in its national platform for the campaign in which this Congress was elected, this promise: "The Republican party pledges itself to correct the irregularities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus." But the Congress has expired without having done anything towards such a reduction of the surplus, which is equivalent to saying that it has neglected the most pressing of all its obligations.

This failure must always constitute a serious

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reproach upon the record of the Forty-ninth Congress. But it must not blind the country to the fact that this Congress has rendered the public great services, both positively and negatively. Two of the acts which it has placed upon the statute-book are of the epoch-marking order, while a third bill repeals an act which was of the epoch-marking order. First of these is the act regulating the order of Presidential succession. The old law, which dates back to Washington's first term, provided that in case of the removal, death, resignation, or inability of both the President and Vice-President, the President of the Senate should become acting President until the disability were removed or a new President elected; or if there were, in such an emergency, no President of the Senate, then the Speaker of the House should thus temporarily occupy the Executive chair. As either the Senate or the House might represent in its majority the party opposed to the President and Vice-President, it has repeatedly happened that if the occupant of the White House had died during the term for which he and his associate on the ticket had been elected, a representative of the party which he defeated in that election would have become President for the period until a new election could be held, which might cover more than a year. This has always been an anomaly in our system, the injustice of which has long been recognized, but it was reserved for the Forty-ninth Congress to remove it from the statute-book and substitute the rational and just plan of devolving the succession upon the members of the Cabinet, in the order of their relative rank, beginning with the Secretary of State, and abolishing the requirement of a new election by the people before the regular time; thus insuring the administration of the executive department throughout a four-years term by the party to which the voters had intrusted it.

Not less important is the law which provides for counting the electoral vote. The system which had been maintained for nearly a century, dating from the same period in Washington's Administration, was fatally ambiguous and defective. Its radical faults had more than once provoked controversies in Congress during the counting of the electoral votes, when such controversies were rather academic than practical, and in 1876-77 its fundamental weakness threatened the peace of the country. Yet it has taken ten years—during two of which the Republicans have controlled both branches of Congress, during two the Democrats both, and during six each party one house—to secure the enactment of an efficient substitute for this broken-down old law. The act finally adopted proceeds upon the sound principles of exerting all proper pressure upon the States to settle controversies themselves, accepting the decisions of the State tribunals as final whenever only one return of votes is made to Congress, and providing that in case of two or more returns that return shall be counted which is supported by the certificate of the State executive, unless the two houses, acting separately, shall concur in deciding that it is not the lawful vote of the State.

These two important additions to the statute-book are fitly supplemented by the removal of an act which has long disgraced it. The Tenure-of-Office Act, passed in what was considered a desperate emergency twenty years ago, infringed upon the prerogative of absolute removal from office which had previously been exercised by Presidents, and which is obviously essential to Executive responsibility, by prohibiting the removal of any officer confirmed by the Senate without the Senate's consent. To require the consent of the Senate for the removal of officers as well as for their appointment was but a natural expression of a deep-seated distrust of lodging absolute power in any one person: True, the act was not passed until 1867, and then as a specific check on the power of Andrew Johnson; but twice before in the history of the country, in 1789 and 1835, it only just failed of passage, and it was sure to be agitated from time to time by the same ultra-democratic spirit which has weakened so many of our State constitutions because it cannot recognize that when divided power means divided responsibility, it results in a system of log-rolling and bargaining, and gives rise to a shrewd class of manipulators or bosses who "fix things" and "work things," and yet are never seen; who have the power and yet cannot be held responsible to the voters, and thus, under the forms of democracy, rule as an oligarchy, and leave to the people the privilege of fighting blindly in the dark. Twenty years of the Tenure-of-Office Act have spread unmistakable evidence upon the record that giving the Senate a voice in removals has simply extended the system of log-rolling, which has always been the bane of the service; and that, instead of preventing the President from removing good men, it has made it difficult to oust bad ones.

Here, then, are three great positive achievements, through the passage of bills each of distinct advantage to the public service. With them must be ranked two great negative achievements, through the defeat or suppression of bills. For some years the disposition of demagogues to outbid each other by higher and higher offers for "the soldier vote," through unfair and unreasonable extensions of the pension system, has been an alarming tendency. Nobody seemed to have the courage to call a halt, and things went from bad to worse, until they culminated a few weeks ago in the passage of the Dependent Pension Bill—a measure which offered such bribes to all old soldiers not now receiving pensions as must inevitably have demoralized a large proportion of them into turning paupers, in order to get supported at the public expense. Mr. Cleveland fortunately possessed the moral courage to veto this bill, and 125 out of 300 members of the House voted to sustain him, thus sharing with him the distinction of placing an effective check upon the pension craze.

Another tendency, no less alarming, towards paternalism in Government, has also met an effective check. When the late Congress opened, a scheme which involved Federal intervention in education in the States was promptly brought forward and pushed through the Senate, as it had been pushed through the Senate two years before, not because a majority of the Senators believed it wise—for Mr. Plumb of Kansas declared, without even Mr. Blair's challenging the truth of his assertion, that he could count on the fingers of his two hands "the members on this floor who are actually in favor of this measure"—but because a majority had thoughtlessly committed themselves to it in the past. It went to the House with the expectation that the thoughtless committal of many Northern Republicans to the idea that Federal appropriations for Southern schools would benefit the negroes, combined with the temptations to Southern Democrats of a $77,000,000 bribe, would carry it through. But meanwhile the nature and character of the "Bill to Promote Mendicancy" had been thoroughly exposed; the country had become convinced that the scheme would work harm rather than good; and, with the approval of such intelligent and unselfish friends of negro education as Gen. Armstrong of the Hampton Institute, the measure was killed in the House—killed, we say, because this was its last chance of success. In the session of 1887–88 a plea for Federal appropriations to Southern schools, on the ground that the South is still "impoverished by the war," and that she cannot herself sustain her schools, will be laughed out of Congress by quotations from the wonderful reports of educational progress contained in the reports of Southern school superintendents, and by citations from the celebrations of Southern prosperity which enliven every issue of a Southern newspaper.

These are, in our view, the half-dozen great features of the Forty-ninth Congress. A failure in its chief duty of tariff reform; three positive achievements of the first order in the passage of the Presidential Succession and Electoral Count Bills, and the repeal of the Tenure-of Office Act; and two negative achievements of equal rank, in the arrest of the pension craze and the defeat of the Federal education scheme. Next after these in importance, perhaps, is to be ranked the Inter-State Commerce Bill—an experiment in Federal legislation regarding railways the workings of which will be awaited with great interest. The law granting lands in severalty to Indians marks a long step forward in the solution of the Indian problem. The passage of a bill authorizing a building for the Congressional Library is cause for congratulation. The drastic law for the suppression of polygamy will undoubtedly be carried as soon as possible before the Supreme Court for a judgment as to its constitutionality, of which there are grave doubts. The act referring all private claims, which have long occupied an unreasonable share of the time of Congress, to the Court of Claims, is an important measure of reform in legislative methods. The steady improvement in the postal service receives another impetus in the acts extending the free-delivery system to all places of 10,000 inhabitants, and reducing the fees on postal money orders. The worst bill to set over against these is the one redeeming trade dollars under conditions which will give a profit estimated at more than $4,500,000 to the speculators, and will increase the amount of standard silver dollars that are not needed and will not circulate—a bill which Mr. Cleveland would have done well to veto.

This constitutes on the whole an exception-

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ally good record. In considering the credit and blame for this record, it must be remembered that tariff reform was supported by three-fourths of the Democrats, and defeated only by the coalition of nearly all the Republicans with the Randall wing; that the Presidential Succession and Electoral Count Bills were non-partisan in their inception and progress; that the repeal of the Tenure-of-Office Act was opposed by most of the Republicans in both branches; that the sustaining of the pension veto was due solely to Democratic votes, and that it was the Democratic House which suppressed the Blair scheme. Republican organs will berate the Democratic House for its "inefficiency," and it deserves plenty of such censure; but in common fairness it must be remembered that the country owes the good work of the session to the Democratic House in far greater measure than to the Republican Senate.

THE MONEY POWER IN POLITICS AGAIN.

WE gave in condensed form last week a startling array of exact statistical information which Mr. W. M. Ivins had for the first time made public, concerning the amounts of money involved in one way or another in our municipal contests. The central fact in the whole matter, it will be recalled, is, that in every city election there is involved in money, in round numbers, $1,500,000. Of this amount about $500,000 is actually paid out on election day, consisting of $290,000 which is paid by the city as legal expenses, and $210,000 which is contributed by the candidates as "assessments." The remaining million is the stake for which the politicians are contending in the election, and consists of $750,000 as salaries for hangers-on and "heelers," and $250,000 as salaries for district leaders. It should be remembered that these are all minimum figures. In national elections the amounts are in all instances much higher, for not only are the stakes played for much greater, but the outlays by the city and by the candidates and parties are greatly increased. Then, too, Mr. Ivins only takes into account the city salaries which are paid to the men actually engaged in political work. The aggregate of Federal salaries paid in New York city is $2,500,000, and the aggregate of municipal salaries is about $10,000,000. Here is a total of $12,500,000 in salaries alone, and this is one of the prizes which the various Machine bosses are fighting to get "a hack at."

It is easy to see how such conditions have led to the building up of our present political Machines. They were an absolute necessity, from the nature of the case. The State has neglected to provide any election machinery beyond that for registering, receiving, and recording the vote. There is no State provision for printing and circulating ballots, and to perform this work the Machines were put in motion, and, to pay their expenses, the assessments upon candidates followed naturally. As the city increased in size, the expenses also increased, and larger assessments became constantly necessary. It would be a gross injustice to many honorable candidates to intimate that there has been any criminal intent on their part in paying these assessments. The larger part of the money undoubtedly goes in every election to the payment of legitimate expenses. But the great evil of the system is that it is a constant temptation to corruption and greed. It leads naturally to a sale of nominations to the highest bidder. The men who do the work on election day are also the men who make the nominations. Naturally, they desire for candidates men who will make the most liberal contributions before election, and also the most liberal promises of aid and support at the city's expense after election. The only check upon this tendency which the honest sentiment of the city can exert is by defeating at the ballot-box men who are notoriously unfit. This operates strongly enough in times of unusual interest to secure for us good candidates for Mayor and a few of the higher offices, but beyond that it has little or no influence.

The assessment evil is the most pernicious of all. It sometimes puts upon the benches of our courts men who would never have been thought of for judges if they had not been able to buy a nomination. It puts into our county offices men whose chief merit is that they will pledge themselves to use the office to its utmost capacity for the benefit of the politicians. Then, too, a man who has paid a heavy assessment before getting into office is bound to devote all his energies to getting back his money out of the office, if there is any possible way for him to do so. A striking illustration of the way John Kelly used his political power to help supply deficiencies in his assessment funds was revealed a few years ago. A former President of the Excise Board stated that during his term of office, while Tammany had a majority in the Board, John Kelly gave that majority orders to allow no license to be granted unless the applicant could show receipts for two subscriptions to the *Star* newspaper, which Mr. Kelly owned. In this way the Tammany leader accomplished two things, in addition to getting about 6,000 subscribers to his paper—he succeeded in getting the *Star* into the greater part of the liquor-saloons, and in keeping out of them every other Democratic paper, for a liquor-dealer who had to pay two subscriptions to one paper was not likely to take any other.

The remedy for the present evils is plain enough, and happily it is not an experimental one. It consists simply in putting the election machinery in charge of the State, on the same plan which has worked so successfully in England. The printing and distributing of ballots should be done at the State's expense, and, in addition to that, anti-bribery laws like the English should be enacted. Previous to 1883 these English laws forbade the *receipt* of money for uses connected with elections, but in that year a law was passed which forbade the *disbursement* of more than a fixed amount proportionate to the size of the constituency. A borough constituency of 2,000 electors is allowed £350 sterling if one member of Parliament is to be chosen, and £525 if two are to be. The maximum sum for a borough of 66,000 electors is £3,000. This must cover all expenses—printing, postage, renting of rooms, agents—everything. All disbursements must be made by one person, either the candidate himself or his agent. If he employs an agent for the purpose, he must not disburse a farthing himself. An account with vouchers must be kept of all disbursements, and returned under oath after election. Penalties for paying more than the allowed sum are visited upon the candidate and the agent in the form of political disabilities, if the payment is not accompanied by bribery; if bribery be involved, the penalties for that offence are superadded.

This law demonstrated its wonderful efficacy immediately. At the preceding general election the sum of $7,500,000 was spent in campaigning and bribery of one form or another. In the first election under the law, there was only one case in which the money expended exceeded the limit allowed, and in this case the member elected was unseated. While in 1880, with 419 constituencies and with 3,000,000 voters, the expenditures had been $15,000,000, in 1885, with 611 constituencies and 5,670,000 voters, the expenditure was only $3,900,000. Ninety-five petitions alleging corrupt practices were presented in 1880, only two were presented in 1885, and in 1886 only one. Corruption in politics had been practically abolished. A similar law could not fail to work in the same way here. Modifications might be necessary to adapt it to our system of government, but they would be only slight. The main effect—that is, taking the machinery of nominations and elections out of the hands of the men who now control both, and control them for evil purposes—would be accomplished.

COUNTRY LIVING FOR CITY PEOPLE.

WE have more than once urged upon innkeepers, and others engaged in providing for the great company of summer visitors to the country, the duty of getting out of the ruts in which that important business is usually "run." We have explained that if not strictly a duty (and indeed it can be esteemed so only figuratively, or, at most, in the way of what theologians call a counsel of perfection), this is, at any rate, a necessity, in order that the "summer-boarder" trade shall yield the highest amount of profit on one hand and a reasonable degree of satisfaction on the other. There is no other occupation of man that we can think of in which a little intelligence, a little reasoning, a little respect for plain facts, a little applied common sense, and a little courage will pay so well. To change thousands of dreary summer boarding-places into small paradises, it would suffice if their keepers would only change their point of view and acquire a trifle of knowledge. If they do not know, let them inquire and learn, what people in towns are used to and therefore must have; and what they are used to and therefore want to get rid of; and let them further learn to distinguish between these two classes of things. People in towns are used to baths, and they want baths; they are used to society, but they do not want that; they are gorged with society, and they want to be let alone, or at least to have the possibility of being alone, in comfort. It is not so necessary that the boarding-house keepers should know what people cannot have in towns, and therefore come to seek in the country, because in general these are things

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which the boarding-houses can neither supply nor take away.

We have not been much aided by our contemporaries in this useful missionary preaching. The subject, perhaps, wanted dignity in their eyes. But the New York, Ontario and Western Railway Company sees the importance of it in a business way, and, having regard to its own interest in the increase of summer travel to the wild and beautiful region through which its line runs, has undertaken the education of the rural mind in the art of living. To this end it has caused to be written by "Marion Harland," and has just published, under the title prefixed to this article, a little book of "Familiar Talk," full of really penetrative good sense, so wise and practical and well-directed that, wherever its advice on the proper care of summer boarders is followed, not only will their comfort and pleasure be greatly enlarged, but the ruralist's profit must be increased also. The railway company estimates that the summer visitors to Sullivan, Ulster, and Delaware Counties in 1886 expended there a sum equal to four-fifths of the total annual value of the farm products of those counties, and urges that this comparison shows that a good crop of summer boarders is "the best possible crop a thrifty farmer can raise"; but it "needs hearty effort to harvest this crop."

It is not often that our railway companies go to the bottom of things like this, and the travelling public will do well to see that the little book has a wide circulation, particularly in purely rural regions, where, as we all have often enough perceived, anxiously good intentions exist, together with sufficient means, but with total incapacity of producing pleasurable results, through pure ignorance of what is to be done and how to set about doing it. The value of Mrs. Terhune's advice is that she furnishes information under each of these heads, and in a very lucid manner. She addresses herself chiefly to the women, in a style which women will read with sympathy and understanding. Rather more than half of her book is given to the kitchen, being devoted mainly to recipes not too bright or good for human nature's daily food in a well-conditioned farm-house. The rest of it is directed to the care of the table and of bedrooms, and to suggestion of general principles, which is the most useful portion of all. That direful phrase, "all the comforts of a home," receives due discouragement—a phrase for which the not less familiar "all hope abandon" is a fair equivalent, since the only really hopeless "summer place" is the one where the idea thus expressed finds favor. "Sweep away from thought and from advertisement," says Mrs. Terhune, "the idea of giving the peculiar 'comforts' of a city home. Your best attempts would be a caricature."

We affirm entire agreement with Mrs. Terhune's principles and particulars. The comfort of a summer boarding-place lies almost wholly in making the most of its own peculiarities, and in sinking all rivalry with town luxuries. The air, the view, sun and shade, inviting places in which to sit or lie outdoors, tubs and towels, and plenty of water, profusion of the few vegetables or fruits which will not bear transportation (who ever really tastes green corn—and hardly green peas—in New York?), and all other products of the neighborhood marketed, on the house table — these are of the things which people seek for in the country. They are all easily to be furnished, but are rarely had, for want of thought and of management. Even for air and view, sun and shade, it is required that windows may open and shut easily, that they shall have blinds; that pigsties, and stables, and slop pools shall not be about the house. As for the other things, the bucolic mind is slow but tenacious, and it is knowledge of that which makes it worth urging that "p'doose" really fetches a price three times as high on the boarders' table as in Washington Market; that in a room a good bed, a comfortable chair, a decent reading-lamp, an honest table for washing, in place of the odorous "commode," a big can of water, a tin tub, and twice the usual supply of towels, will bring in, together, a clear addition of at least two dollars a week; that a good vegetable garden, not merely "put in," anyhow, in a spring hurry, and left to grow up to weeds, but early planted, and carefully tended, will be more profitable than any five acres of the farm besides; that New Yorkers do not want stale sea-fish in a mountain country, or look on bull-beef and ham as luxuries, but long for the frogs or trout or black bass or catfish, which the boys might catch close by the house; for poultry, for really new-laid eggs, etc., etc.

These are a few of the simple lessons which the bucolic mind in time will master; and when it does, life for a certain season of the year will wear a new face for most of us.

THE RÉMUSATS.

PARIS, February 25, 1887.

THE last two volumes (v and vi) of the correspondence of the Rémusats have just made their appearance. They extend from the year 1818 to the year 1821, in which year Mme. de Rémusat died in Paris. During this period M. de Rémusat was Prefect at Lille, but his son Charles was in Paris and was living in the most interesting society of the time. The letters of Mme. de Rémusat, as in the other volumes of this correspondence, are the best, in our opinion. She had a real epistolary talent, she knew how to touch every subject with a light hand: she was writing at that time the Memoirs which have already become famous, and which Taine considers one of the most valuable documents for the history of Bonaparte. About these Memoirs she writes to her son:

"Do you know a reflection which sometimes troubles me? I say to myself: 'If some day my son publishes all this, what will people think of me?' I am afraid some people will think me wicked or malicious. I do try to find occasions for praise; but that man [she means Bonaparte] has been such a destroyer [*assommateur*] of virtue, and we were so low, that often my soul feels discouraged and the truth presses me. I know nobody, nobody but you, to whom I should like to make such confidences."

The editor of the Memoirs adds here in a note: "We know, from other passages of her letters, that my grandmother accepted and even desired the posthumous publication of her Memoirs, and my father made this publication one of my duties."

Young Rémusat was a Liberal; he always had something to say against the ultras, against Chateaubriand and his friends. His mother was somewhat of the same idea. She said to him: "The aristocracy was radically destroyed in France before the establishment of a representative government. Our civilization created our middle classes, an enlightened bourgeoisie, the strength of France, and our Constitution is based on this fact." Her son answered thus, as a sort of echo:

"The Revolution, if we understand by this word the events of '89, did not destroy the nobility—the nobility no longer existed. It merely shook down the façade, which was still erect, of a building which had been demolished long before. The Terror passed a plough over these ruins, and the construction rapidly erected by Bonaparte has not survived him. . . . The ultras will be like the Jews, a society dispersed, foreign to the surrounding society. Bonaparte and those who would like to imitate him—that is to say, who would try to rebuild with the remains of the old monarchy—resemble the Emperor Julian trying to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem. There will issue from the earth flames which will devour the work and the laborers."

Rémusat had given himself body and soul to politics. He was the curious, intelligent, and disinterested witness of the first trial of parliamentary government in France. He was young, but cared not for the pleasures of youth. He spent most of his time at the Chamber and in the political drawing-rooms. He was full of illusions and had few prejudices. He was instinctively hostile to the *ancien régime*, and to the people who represented it. He thought that the time had arrived for a merely intellectual aristocracy, changing, going from hand to hand. He saw society in a state of perpetual transformation, and perceived no fixed laws, no fixed institutions anywhere. His mind was essentially fluid, and his opinions never took any definite form. Contradiction was for him not only an amusement, a necessity. The letters to his mother and of his mother to him are a sort of continuous duel, a duel of wit, of courtesy, of grace.

It is difficult to imagine the state of mind of a young man born to political life in the most terrible crisis, during the invasion of his country by foreigners, after the Revolution and the downfall of Bonaparte. Rémusat's mind had no fixed principles, though he attached himself to the little school of doctrinaires who pretended to make a code of principles for the government of the world. It was surely a great honor for him to be admitted to the familiarity of such men as the Duc de Broglie, who was one of the founders of the doctrinaire school; but he was not so much impressed with it that he could not write a very amusing song on his reception into that sacred *cénacle*. The song was called "The Neophyte," and had much success. It can be judged by this couplet:

"Mais, repris-je d'un air timide,
Quand vous vous assemblez ici
Quel est l'intérêt qui vous guide?
—Notre but, Monsieur, le voici:
Ranger l'empire du possible
Sous un gouvernement normal,
Et sur le monde intelligible
Exercer le pouvoir moral."

This is not a bad criticism of the high-sounding vagueness of the doctrinaires, and of their obscurity. The French mind was very ill prepared by the Revolution and by the Empire for a rational use of political and parliamentary liberties. The doctrinaires had to complete their own education before they could effect the education of the people; and the correspondence of the Rémusats shows how much the Chambers and the parties blundered. There was much good will among the men who supported the throne of Louis XVIII., much eloquence, much elevation; there was also much ignorance and prejudice. The Revolution had destroyed, in many senses, the national unity; it had broken all the old barriers, destroyed whatever had a provincial or even a municipal character; but it had divided the nation into victims and executioners, it had sown seeds of immortal hatred and of incurable jealousy.

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It is almost impossible at such a distance to form a correct opinion of the state of France in 1818; some little touches in Mme. de Rémusat's letters are more eloquent than volumes "The ultras," she writes to her husband, "are mad with joy, and, as usual, very imprudent. Fancy our cousin, Mme. de Vergennes, going yesterday morning to see the King, and paying him a compliment on his having become a *royalist*. The epithets *coquin*, *faquin*, are given to every Liberal; whatever shade he belongs to." Imagine the Chancellor saying: "Thank God! we shall soon have no Chambers at all." The quarrels of M. de Richelieu and of M. Decazes divided society; they were really the quarrels between the old régime and the new.

An aunt of the Rémusats wrote to them a very solemn letter, blaming the young Charles for having written an article on Mme. de Staël, conceived in a liberal spirit: it seemed to her as if young Rémusat had become a real Jacobin in the society of such men as M. de Staël, the Duc de Broglie, Benjamin Constant—"people," said she, "whose approbation is very little honorable, and would be, for Charles, a misfortune." Young Charles had made his choice; he had thrown his lot among the progressive men of his time. "The simplest policy," he says to his mother, "is to start from the present and to conquer the future. But people are always speaking to us of the past; so the nation also throws herself on the past, and is almost ready to defend '93 because '89 is attacked." He attached himself to the new men, to the doctrinaires. "I assure you," he writes to his mother, "that the doctrinaires are remarkable, not only for their talent, but because they reveal to us a moral nature which is entirely new. It is a fine spectacle to see them claim liberty for mankind, not because it is convenient, but because it is just; fine to hear people ask for tolerance who need no tolerance. It is this spectacle which was wanting in France." M. Guizot was the rising star of the new school, and those who, like myself, knew him in his old age, can imagine with what an air, what a mien, he could say, in the discussion on a law for the protection of religion, to one of those who proposed the law: "Why, sir, do you mean to help with a torch the march of the sun?" Hitherto liberalism had been too irreligious. Tocqueville has well shown, in his book on the institutions of modern France, how the Revolution had been prepared by atheists or deists. Rémusat could write to his mother that "among the 250 members of the Chamber, there are at least 150 who only believe in Voltaire." Such men as Royer-Collard and Guizot were a novelty among all these Voltairians. The Voltarians wanted the altar simply as a basis for the throne: they had not the doctrinaire ideal of liberty associated with virtue and with religion.

Lille was a very small horizon for a woman like Mme. de Rémusat, but she was easily satisfied. She describes her little evening circle: "This circle is formed by a few ladies of this country and by officers of the Royal Guard, with their colonel at their head, who is the best and the most unreasonable of men. His name is D'Aubusson; he was once intoxicated with Bonaparte; he only understands a king on horseback, commanding a charge two hundred leagues away from his kingdom." She had her ultras: "Yesterday," says she, "I had my ultras at dinner. I amused myself by talking like a doctrinaire. 'You don't understand,' said I; 'do try to understand; don't always put men in the place of things.'" The poor ultras did not understand.

The Rémusats were not quite satisfied when their son became a regular contributor to a new paper called the *Courrier Français*, founded by Royer-Collard, Beugnot, Barante, Guizot, Villemain; they were very much afraid of his writing aggressive articles. Mme. de Rémusat came to Paris and discussed the question with M. Guizot; he reassured her, and said that they all intended to help the Government, that they would make no systematic opposition, that they would later find some Government office for Charles. Mme. de Rémusat was equally proud of her son, of his great successes at the age of twenty-two, and afraid of his impatience, of his imprudence. While she was in Paris her son was appointed Secretary of a Commission of Councillors of State, who had to prepare, under the presidency of the Minister of Justice, new laws on the jury. After this triumph she returned to Lille, and looked for some distraction in writing a book on the education of women (this book was published after her death by her husband in 1824, and a new edition is in preparation under the care of M. Gréard).

It must be confessed that these two new volumes of correspondence have not as much interest as the preceding ones. It is difficult for us to feel the same alarms as the Rémusats when they read at Lille their son's articles, written in Paris. He was in the fight, and they were in a quiet city of Flanders. As a prefect, Rémusat, the father, was, of course, completely dependent; and he could not help being afraid that the ministers might become angry with his son and accuse him of weakening the Administration. Passions ran very high in Paris. The doctrinaires found it difficult at times to support the Government; they were placed between two fires—between the ultras and the Liberals, who were becoming stronger every day, and who had allied themselves with the old Bonapartists. There is a curious account, in the sixth volume, of the assassination of the Duc de Berri at the Opéra, by Louvel, with all the details, and the echo of the emotions of the hour. Lally-Tollendal proposed to the Chamber of Peers an address which threw the responsibility of the crime of Louvel on the Liberal doctrines. In the Chamber of Deputies a deputy proposed that M. Decazes should be prosecuted. Decazes had to resign, and Chateaubriand had the cruelty to write in the *Débats*: "His feet slipped in the blood." Rémusat writes to his mother that the drawing-rooms had ceased to be tenable.

The crime of Louvel was the signal for a great reaction against constitutionalism and liberalism. Mme. de Rémusat was greatly agitated by these struggles; she liked Liberalism more than she liked the Liberals; she was afraid that her son might make mistakes. She was highly sensitive, delicate in politics as she was in everything. Her health had become altered, and she was obliged to leave Lille in the spring of 1820. After a while she became so ill that her husband had to leave Lille. Mme. de Rémusat took the most intense interest in the affairs of her country to the very end. Her son and her husband were the objects of her passionate affection, and she could not help feeling constantly afraid of their future. Her last days were marked by great agitation. A very short time afterwards, M. de Rémusat lost his place as prefect; the ordinance of M. de Villèle, which removed him from Lille, was signed on the 9th of January, 1822.

Correspondence.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONSTITUTION.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The recent course of political events seems to make it almost inevitable that the next Presidential contest will turn largely upon the question whether the President is right in his doctrine that "the Government should not support the people."

It is not to be presumed that a single veto has killed for ever a project so full of food for political harpies as the Dependent Pension Bill. That a similar measure will be passed by the next Congress may be taken for granted, as well as that it will again be vetoed. Considering the complexion of the Congress-elect, it may also be presumed that it will require hard work to prevent the passage of such a measure over the veto.

Is it not a fact that we are tasting now of the evils of seeking, by construction, a warrant in our Constitution for powers which its framers never intended it to grant? The Articles of Confederation were abandoned because they were a "rope of sand," and a substitute was adopted which, it was thought, would stand the strain with perfect safety; but, if your readers will pardon the figure, we have greased our new rope, thrown it over a precipice, and started on the descent. It is probably the intention of most people to stop at the end, but as the Supreme Court has carefully removed the knot which our worthy ropemakers tied there, the chances seem to be against an easy stoppage.

In all seriousness, could there be any greater or more necessary safeguard for popular institutions in the United States at present than a firm belief in and practice of the theory that our Constitution is to be taken just as its framers intended it to be taken? If we could depend upon our Supreme Court to block every appropriation of public money for which no positive warrant could be found in the Constitution, the various classes who are continually endeavoring to quarter themselves, in some way or other, upon the Treasury, would be compelled to turn their attention to the work of making a new Constitution. That, of course, would require the conversion to their theories of a good majority of the American people, pending which that part of the population which makes a point of attending strictly to its own business could enjoy a long life of comparative quiet and prosperity.

President Cleveland has brought out the fact that we need to get our feet upon solid ground again. His renomination, which is almost a certainty, will give us a good opportunity to show whether or not we are willing to do so. It is very possible that such a Republican as Sherman or Harrison would be too wise to retreat from the position to which Cleveland has gone forward in reforming the civil service. It is not possible that either one of the men named, or any other man at all likely to be mentioned for the nomination, could be depended upon to stand between the Treasury and such schemes of legalized plundering as the Blair Educational Bill and the Dependent Pension Bill.

Will the people be equal to the occasion?

W.

ONE-MAN POWER.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The epitaph of the Forty-ninth Congress might be taken from the Liturgy of the Episcopal Church—"We have left undone those things which we ought to have done. We have done those things which we ought not to have done, and there is no health in us." It would lack, however, the quality of distinctiveness, as it would be just as applicable to any Congress since the war. Is there any hope that it will be less so to any future Congress? Or are we to go on year after year, while the will-o'-the-wisp leads us deeper and deeper into the bog? The papers discuss the conduct of a Democratic majority. It is fair to say that it is little if any better or worse than a Republican majority. The trouble is that Congress is itself a mob, equally distracted in its efforts and its failure to do anything.

One startling result of the session, however, is

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a fresh illustration of the way in which the necessity of leadership has developed into one-man power, but unaccompanied by one-man responsibility. Of late years the country has begun to perceive the immense and irresponsible power lodged in the hands of the Speaker, in theory an impartial presiding officer, but in practice a partisan leader. But a new phenomenon has appeared in the despotism of Mr. Randall, as Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. Not that it is merely a personal achievement of Mr. Randall. The elaborate rules through which the House has struggled to get into working condition furnished the opportunity, and the man was sure to come, as others will be sure to follow him. The peculiarity of the situation is that, while the Speaker is responsible to a majority of the House (in fact a mere tool in their hands), the Chairman of Appropriations is responsible to no earthly authority but the voters of his district, who are much more likely to be gratified by seeing him rule the House, than troubled by his failure to use his power for the public benefit. His danger lies in the fierce competition of jealous rivals, whose object is to supplant rather than reform him.

Senator Hoar described the situation in a speech which called forth nothing but bitter acrimony; and in fact there are two or three considerations which make the effect almost worse than if he had said nothing. In the first place, it was done in the Senate, and of course the corporate spirit of the House will be up in arms at the interference of "the other body" with its affairs. Then Mr. Hoar represents only Massachusetts, and the other thirty-six States will be much more disposed to snub than to suppport him, as may be easily seen by glancing at the newspapers of other parts of the country. Lastly, the pugnacity of Mr. Randall's own constituents will be distinctly increased rather than diminished.

If there must be a leader or leaders, it seems obvious that they should be representative of the whole country. If the Secretary of the Treasury had been in the House during the session, a few questions from independent members might have drawn from him a statement similar, indeed, to that of Mr. Hoar, but having a very different aspect in the eyes of the country, and which, followed up, might lead to a fundamental reform of methods, and thereby of results, and thus make the history of the Fifty-ninth Congress a very different thing from that of the one just expired.

G. B.

Boston, March 5, 1887.

BALTIMORE "POLITICS."

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The excellent article upon the rule of the criminal classes in Baltimore, which appeared in your issue of February 24, was aptly and pointedly illustrated on the day of its publication; for on that day the Mayor reappointed and the Council confirmed for the position of a Superintendent of Streets one James F. Busey, a notorious desperado of the Seventeenth Ward. The record of the arrests, indictments, and convictions of this man form an interesting and unique chapter in the criminal annals of our city. Busey is not without congenial company, but space would fail me to tell the names and achievements of the various worthies whom our Mayor (to use his own choice phraseology) has bidden to "seats at the Government table." J. H. B.

Baltimore, March 5, 1887.

TAXATION OF PERSONAL PROPERTY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your remarks in regard to the taxation of personal property suggest the following point. Holding a mortgage against property that will sell for $4,000, to nearly the amount of its value, the property is assessed $3,000 and the mortgage is assessed $3,000. The rate of taxation being nearly four per cent., the holder receives but two per cent. for the use of his money. In view of this fact, he forces settlement of the mortgage and obtains possession of the property, which he rents so favorably that he obtains over six per cent. on the investment after taxes and other expenses are met. The property now pays but one tax, the personal having been wiped out by cancellation of the mortgage. In accordance with the views of our legislative wiseacres, ought he not to be taxed for the privilege of receiving rent instead of interest?—Yours truly,

M. A. Veeder.

Lyons, N. Y., March 4, 1887.

WAS JEFFERSON DAVIS A REPUDIATOR?

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In Mr. Roosevelt's 'Life of Benton' (p. 220) I notice the following statement:

"Before Jefferson Davis took his place among the arch-traitors in our annals, he had already been known as one of the chief repudiators."

As Mr. Davis was never a member of the Mississippi Legislature, I should be glad to know the authority for this assertion. B.

THE NEW SOUTH.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: History repeats itself, and sometimes one of its repetitions is suggestive. In more than one of the barbarian kingdoms which were established on the ruins of the Roman Empire, when, after a reign of lawless violence, some king had put it down with a strong hand, the resulting security would be described by saying, "A man with his bosom full of gold might pass in safety from one end of the kingdom to the other," or by some similar statement—a kind of barbarian description of barbarian security.

A few days ago the city where I live was honored by a visit from one of the members of a "celebrated" family which has maintained in a neighboring county a partial reign of terror for nearly a generation, in carrying on a bloody feud with another celebrated family. An enterprising daily sent a reporter to interview the gentleman, and his "views" are interesting. After denouncing in vigorous language those who report that human life is not respected in his community, he proves that perfect good order exists there by saying, "A man may ride over our country with an armload of greenbacks, and a thousand chances to one he will never be hurt."

Verily this is progress—a first step, you see, out of the condition which you have so often been pleased to call barbarism. Congratulate us, please. Preston.

THE DEGREE OF A.B.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Apart from the question whether the B.A. degree should stand for any kind of college training, or for instruction in the ancient classics together with other subjects, there is not so much danger of its deterioration by the "academies with degree-giving powers" as some persons imagine. The fact of the matter is, that many of the instructors in such institutions are graduates of real colleges; and, holding the genuine degree themselves, they practically withhold it from their students who for one reason or another are unfit for the honor. This is done by establishing a curriculum leading to the degree of B.A., somewhere near the standard of the older colleges, but beyond the ability of most of the students to reach. Then easier courses are laid out leading to the comparatively unimportant degrees of Ph.B., B.S., and B.L., and in these most of the students are graduated. I do not say that this is the rule with all or even a majority of such colleges; but that the number of candidates for the inferior degrees exceeds the number who are to receive the degree of B.A. in many minor institutions, any doubter can see by consulting the last report of the Commissioner of Education.

Again, it is worth considering that the weaker institutions generally have a local patronage, and their graduates do not often come in contact with those of the same generation whose degrees are of the first quality, so to speak; there being no comparison, the evil is not great to the country at large. Still, one is inclined to wish that the general Government could in some way be given a censorship over degree-conferring institutions, so that the same title would have an approximate value all over the country. But as the Government has not such power, certainly the States ought to look to the matter. W. A. M.

College Hill, Ohio, February 28, 1887.

PLASTOUNOFF AS AN EMBRYOLOGIST.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I received to-day the enclosed letter from our enterprising Russian, in which he poses as an embryologist:

"Most Reverend Sir: If it is permitted for a stranger like me, may I ask as a great favour that you will be good enough as to send me kindly a copy of your work, 'Zoology for students and general reader.' In return it will give me great pleasure to send you a copy of my work on Embryology, if you are acquainted with Russian language. I remain, sir, yours most respectfully, Roman Plastounoff.

"Kiew, 19 Febr., 1887."

The works of the Russian embryologists are well known to American students, especially those connected with the University of Kiew; we need scarcely add that Plastounoff's name does not appear among them.

Yours respectfully, A. S. Packard.

Providence, March 7, 1887.

Notes.

The Century Co. are about to publish the Rev. C. S. Robinson's course of lectures, during the present winter, on Egypt, under the title, 'The Pharaohs of the Bondage and the Exodus,' in the light of the latest discoveries among the royal tombs.

Recent discoveries in the East are also the basis of 'Echoes of Bible History,' by the Rt. Rev. W. P. Walsh, Bishop of Ossory, Ireland, in the press of Thomas Whittaker.

'The Theology of Evolution,' a lecture by Prof. E. D. Cope, will shortly be published by Arnold & Co., Philadelphia.

Ticknor & Co.'s spring announcements include 'American Literature and Other Papers,' by the late Edwin P. Whipple, with an introduction by J. G. Whittier; 'Last Memorials of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow,' by his brother; 'Due North,' a book of European travel, by Maturin M. Ballou; 'Day Dreams and Musings,' by Mrs. S. G. W. Benjamin; 'Lights and Shadows of a Life,' by Madeleine Vinton Dahlgren; and the following novels: 'Two Gentlemen of Boston'; 'The Strike in the B—— Mills'; 'The Confessions of Claud,' by Edgar Fawcett; 'The Devil's Bat,' by Melville Philips. In May the same firm will begin a weekly issue, for three months, of paper-covered volumes for summer reading, embracing "some of the choicest and most successful novels of late years," with some brand-new ones. Still

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later they will bring out 'The New Astronomy,' by S. P. Langley, illustrated; 'Stories and Sketches,' by John Boyle O'Reilly; 'Safe Building,' by Louis De Coppet Berg; a new and enlarged Concordance to the Bible, by the Rev. J. B. R. Walker; and 'Steadfast,' a novel, by Rose Terry Cooke.

Scribner & Welford will be the American publishers of Robert Buchanan's 'A Look Round Literature.' They will also issue a new edition of Fleming's 'Vocabulary of Philosophy.'

Chas. Scribner's Sons will add 'The Early Tudors' to the "Epochs of Modern History" series.

The text of the "Adelphi" of Terence, with stage directions, by Henry Preble, instructor in Latin at Harvard College, will be published on April 1, by Ginn & Co.

Mr. Edmund Gosse has been preparing a course of lectures on the English critics under Queen Anne—an interesting subject, although even the best of them, John Dennis, is now as dead as Queen Anne herself. After being delivered before the Royal Institute in London, they will appear as a book.

Among recent English announcements is the "Mermaid Series," to contain the best plays of the old dramatists, unexpurgated. It will be edited by Havelock Ellis, with a general introduction by J. A. Symonds. There will be about five plays in every volume, besides a preface by an expert. Mr. Ellis begins with a volume of Marlowe, and will edit later a volume of Ford. Mr. Swinburne has written an introduction for the selection from Middleton, and Mr. Gosse will edit the selection from Shirley. Mr. Symonds prepares the volumes from Webster, Cyril Tourneur, and Heywood. The series is intended to include not only the chief dramatists of the Elizabethan period, but those also of the Restoration. The Hon. Roden Noel will edit Otway, and volumes of Dryden, Lee, and Congreve are also announced.

In the monthly volumes of the "Canterbury Poets," edited by William Sharp, twenty-seven poets have now appeared, including five Americans—Longfellow, Whittier, Poe, Emerson, and Whitman. In the corresponding prose series, the "Camelot Classics," edited by Ernest Rhys, thirteen numbers have appeared, of which three are of American authorship—Thoreau's 'Walden,' Lowell's 'My Study Windows,' and the prose writings of Longfellow.

The latest American addition to the Tauchnitz series is Miss Alcott's 'Jo's Boys.'

Mr. A. W. A'Beckett has revised and enlarged his father's famous 'Comic Blackstone,' and it is now appearing in monthly parts with illustrations by Mr. Harry Furniss (London: Bradbury, Agnew & Co.; New York: Scribner & Welford).

Mr. Samuel Arthur Bent's 'Familiar Short Sayings of Great Men' (Ticknor & Co.) has taken to itself the prefix "Familiar" since it first appeared in 1882. It now presents itself in a fifth edition—proof that its solid merits have been appreciated. A very considerable extension has been given to it, sometimes in the way of additions, as in the case of Chatham, whose "atrocious crime of being a young man" is at last recorded; sometimes by wholly new insertions, as in the case of Emerson. The recent Carlyle literature has enabled Mr. Bent to represent this writer much more freely than heretofore, and there is given a very convenient list of judgments on his contemporaries, with a large American contingent—Sumner, Judge Hoar, Margaret Fuller, Dr. Hedge, Washington. In accordance with his method, Mr. Bent passes from Carlyle's estimate of Judge Hoar to some of the latter's views of *his* contemporaries, like the savage one on Wendell Phillips. The Lincolniana are multiplied, and President Cleveland opens a wholly new chapter with "Public office is a public trust," "Offensive partisanship," etc., in the course of which we have the etymology and the political origin of "mugwump," and hear Flanagan of Texas asking, "What are we here for?" Even "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion" is not omitted. The devil's insufficient title to all the good times is taken from Wesley and assigned to the Rev. Rowland Hill. Webster, in reply to Hayne, referred to the doctrine that a national debt is a national blessing. We are reminded that it was Sam Patch who first said: "Some things can be done as well as others." A special index has been made for the addenda to this useful work.

'Bedside Poetry: A Parent's Assistant in Moral Discipline' (Boston: D. Lothrop & Co.) aims to furnish a convenient collection of verse chosen with reference to its moral bearings, but also with a view to elevating the literary taste of the children to whom it may be read. To facilitate its application to daily conduct, a so-called Key to the moralities enforced by the poems is furnished in dictionary fashion. The poets found available are comparatively few in number, and our American anthology contributes its full share.

Knowles's "Hunchback" and "Love-Chase," Peacock's 'Crotchet Castle,' more of Plutarch's Lives—Pericles, Fabius Maximus, Demosthenes, and Cicero—and Macaulay's 'Lays of Ancient Rome,' are the latest issues in "Cassell's National Library."

The Clarendon Press, Oxford (New York: Macmillan), publishes in pleasing form 'Thirteen Satires of Juvenal,' edited with introduction and notes by C. H. Pearson and Herbert A. Strong. The introduction comprises five parts, beginning with an admirable sketch of Juvenal's life by Mr. Pearson, who seeks with scholarly care and acumen to sift the truth from the various manuscript biographies of Juvenal, and discusses Juvenal's character and place in literature. On pages 36 and 37, Mr. Pearson observes, with well-concealed humor, that Juvenal was a Puritan, that his wit is American and is comparable with Mr. Lowell's. The second part of the introduction tabulates briefly the conclusions arrived at by Prof. Nettleship in a lecture on the correspondence between the epigrams of Martial and the satires of Juvenal. The third, fourth, and fifth parts treat respectively of the chief codices of Juvenal, the social condition of Rome under the early Empire, and the Roman *satura*. Jahn's text is adopted in the main; but use is made of Beer's collation of the codex Pithœanus described in his 'Spicilegium Juvenalianum' (Leipzig, 1885). This edition is designed for schools and universities, and is admirably adapted to its purpose. The notes are scholarly and are very full, as they must needs be. Although the editors say that they have expurgated the text so that it may safely be perused by mixed classes, they have fallen far short of prudery in their eliminations, and have left not a few lines, as *e. g.*, i. 77 and 78, iii. 65, x. 220, xi. 186 and 187, xiv. 25-29, which modest young men and women could not wish to read together.

M. Abraham Dreyfus, one of the brightest of the younger French dramatists of our day, has gathered into one volume 'Jouons la Comédie' (Paris: Lévy; New York: F. W. Christern), seven little one-act comedies, all of which are quite decorous according to the French code, and most of which are perfectly proper even in the eyes of an American young girl. We may single out for special praise "La Victime," "Une Rupture," and "Le Klephte"—this last being a most ingenious variation of the theme treated more coarsely in the little German play "Eigensinn."

Les Archives Théâtrales is the title of a new monthly record of music and the drama in Paris. It is edited by M. Paul Meyan, and published by MM. Tresse & Stock (New York: F. W. Christern), and will appear as a thirty-six-page pamphlet on the tenth of every month, the final issue 'of' the year containing the index, etc. The '*Ere* Almanack' for 1887 contains the record of the English stage for 1886. Its chief attraction is a series of facsimiles of autograph letters of leading actors and actresses in answer to the query: "What is the most striking incident of your professional experience?" This is a variety of the "symposium" not yet attempted in America. The record of the American stage of last year is to be found in the '*Clipper* Almanac'—side by side with the record of other things more materialistic.

M. le vicomte d'Avenel has detached from the volumes in preparation of his 'Richelieu et la Monarchie absolue'—two having already been published (Paris: Plon, 1884)—several very interesting chapters for the *Revue Historique*. In these he shows the state of the French clergy in the first half of the seventeenth century. With great impartiality he depicts the numerous abuses that had gradually crept into the French Church, most of these being abuses really introduced by the State, against which pious ecclesiastics struggled in vain. The injurious effects of the union of Church and State as it existed until the Revolution of 1789 are clearly shown by M. d'Avenel, who in many cases makes use of unpublished historical documents with such skill that the dry and often petty facts with which he has to deal become revelations, throwing a flood of light upon a very obscure corner of history.

There are many questions connected with the life of Columbus which are still veiled in obscurity, and concerning which there is great variance of opinion. A new contribution to the literature of the subject lies before us. It is entitled 'Acten zu Columbus' Geschichte von 1473 bis 1492: eine kritische Studie, von Max Büdinger,' a reprint from the proceedings of the Austrian Imperial Academy of Sciences ('Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Classe, CXII. Bd., II. Heft,' 1886). "I venture," says the author, "to appear among the combatants partly to present some new materials which hitherto have not been used, or have been inadequately exploited, partly to attempt a settlement of the very divergent opinions, now prevailing, by looking at the questions in dispute from a new point of view." Dr. Büdinger divides his matter into three parts: (1.) The "Historie," or life of Columbus written by the latter's son Ferdinand; (2.) His service under King René; (3.) His arrival in Portugal and departure from that country. The various opinions of Harrisse, D'Avezac, Peragallo, and others concerning the above subjects are amply stated and criticised. All interested in these questions will find Büdinger's monograph useful, although he definitively settles very few of the points at issue, and presents fewer new materials than one would anticipate from the title and preamble of the work.

We regret the necessity which puts the Bancroft Historical Library upon the market, but we can only regard its proposed purchase by the State of California as eminently proper. There ought to be no difficulty in reaching a just valuation of this invaluable collection.

The double number which ushers in the twelfth volume of the *Library Journal* is an earnest of its conductors' intention to make it simply irresistible to the profession (let us add, to any owner of a more than ordinary private library) during the current year. Its main feature is furnished in advance by the Bureau of Education, and is a detailed list of all the public libraries in the United States having 1,000 volumes and upwards. They number 2,981, or one to every 10,000 of the population, with an average of 3,862 volumes. New Hampshire has one library to every 2,700 inhabitants; Massachusetts, Connecticut, and

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Rhode Island, one to every 3,000-3,500. Massachusetts is in the van as regards the number of libraries—427, or rather more than fourteen per cent. of the grand total. New York is close behind with 391, but of course with a marked disproportion when population is considered. The respective volume totals are: Massachusetts, 3,569,085; New York, 3,168,508 A careful count shows that (exclusive of suburbs) New York city's libraries have 1,414,795 volumes; those of Boston 1,015,419. Forty-seven libraries have 50,000 and upwards; the Library of Congress standing first (with 565,134 volumes), and the Boston Public second (434,837). Among these no Southern State, except Maryland and Missouri, is represented, while more than one-sixth are in Massachusetts and nearly one-quarter in New England. Other statistical tables are those relating to the Copyright Office. Here what strikes one as curious is the slight increase in copyright deposits in the years 1880-86 (counting each deposit as one work), viz., 18,330, 17,175, 19,490, 22,719, 22,805, 24,430, 24,052. There is much good reading that we cannot specify. The quarterly Coöperative Index to Periodicals published in connection with the *Library Journal* now completes its second volume.

The *Studio* for February has some very just remarks on Mr. Walter Shirlaw's designs for Goldsmith's ballad, "The Hermit," one of which, by permission, it contrasts with the corresponding design by Flaxman. There are several other illustrations—an etching of a ewer, laudable of its kind if not first-rate; and two process reproductions, viz., of the well-known 1508 medal by Dürer, in very low relief, and of an Italian portrait already copied in the *Studio*, but less effectively.

We find in the Paris *Temps* of February 12 a short account of a very ingenious and valuable contrivance, the *autographomètre*, invented by M. Floran de Villepigne, an engineer connected with the Panama Canal. This vehicle (*petit chariot*), drawn along the thoroughfares of a city, registers as it goes the distance traversed, the grade of the streets, and the angles of their intersection.

In the *Acta Mathematica*, a journal published at Stockholm since 1882, under the direction of Prof. G. Mittag-Leffler, assisted by the foremost mathematicians of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Finland, and which has now reached the ninth volume, the sole contribution in the English language is from the pen of an American writer, Mr. G. W. Hill of the Nautical Almanac Office, Washington, and relates to that part of the motion of the perigree of the moon's orbit which is a function of the mean motion of the sun and moon. Mr. Hill is announced as the recipient this year of the Royal Astronomical Society's gold medal for his important contributions to mathematical astronomy.

—The *Century* for March has a page or two of that very rare thing, noble imaginative writing, in a half-dozen prose-poems by Emma Lazarus, upon the fate of the Jews. Though expressed in English, they are truly Oriental in character, but with a humanitarianism and a feeling for America as a harbor of refuge, which give a peculiar strangeness to the ancient Scriptural form into which they are run. No current poetry has touched the level of "The Sower" in vigor of imagination, or of the sudden turn at the conclusion of "The Exodus" and "The Test" in power of style, for a long time. Some lines by Joel Benton on "Dakotah" are also exceptionally excellent. Mr. Stillman contributes a beautifully illustrated article upon Greek coinage, and in the course of his interesting remarks upon the subject one observes the striking declaration of opinion—"With an admiration of the severe and intellectual art of Phidias second to none, I am heretic enough to admit that of the full circle of art Scopas and Praxiteles had more than Phidias, just as Titian had more than Gian-Bellini." It is the old case of expression vs. conception, but in this application it has the material for a very "pretty" argument. He states in a note that his theory that the Venus of Melos is a "Victory" has been "accepted by many students of ancient art as sufficiently established for acceptance as the most probable attribution," and adds some slight new confirmations. Prof. Tillett's enthusiastic article upon "The White Man of the New South" should find many readers, and his hopes for the literature of the South will be cordially seconded; the development of the press is certainly a cardinal sign in that field. "Composite Photography" is the subject of an article of both technical and popular interest, and there is an excellent, kindly, and much-needed paper of reminiscences of Secretary Stanton.

—The fifth number of the publications of the American Economic Association, like the fourth, is devoted to the subject of coöperation. The field covered in this instance is the New England States. The author, Prof. E. W. Bemis, has evidently taken very great pains with his investigation, and states his results with great clearness, although, we apprehend, at somewhat too great length for any but students of the subject. Probably most persons would be surprised to learn of the early date at which coöperative enterprises made their appearance in New England. Their number, too, has been surprisingly large, although comparatively few have been successful. The coöperative stores, or societies for distribution, seem to prosper as a rule only when organized upon the Rochdale plan. But in these enterprises, as in all business, everything depends upon the managers: where they are unskilful or underpaid, the weaknesses of human nature very soon bring about financial ruin. Mr. Bemis is able to establish one generalization of great practical value: where the expenses of doing business are kept below eight per cent. of the amount of the sales, a coöperative store has a good chance of success; if they exceed this limit, disaster is nearly certain. Those who contemplate the formation of societies of this kind, therefore, are furnished with a well-established basis for their calculations. The co-operative banks, or building and loan associations, of New England, are computed to have assets amounting to $3,500,000; the capital of the fifty-three coöperative stores from which reports were obtained was about $140,000, which is "turned over" twelve or thirteen times a year; that of the companies engaged in productive coöperation amounted to about $300,000. But the moral effects of these associations are not to be measured by the magnitude of their financial transactions.

—Appendix V of the Tenth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission has just appeared. It is wholly devoted to Ireland, containing reports by John T. Gilbert on the MSS. of the Marquis of Ormonde, the Earl of Fingall, the Sees of Dublin and Ossory, the Order of Jesuits, and the towns of Waterford and Galway. The report on the first-mentioned collection consists of a "Calendar of petitions, A. D. 1666-1669, addressed to James, Duke of Ormonde, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and to his Deputy, Thomas Earl of Ossory." These petitions throw much light upon the general and social history of Ireland during that period. Mr. Gilbert gives copious extracts from this as well as from all the other collections. The principal MS. belonging to the Earl of Fingall is entitled "A Light to the Blind; whereby they may see the dethronement of James the Second, King of England, with a brief narrative of his warr in Ireland, and of the warr between the Emperor and the King of France for the Crown of Spain—Anno 1711." The partisan bias of this interesting work may be gathered from the following brief extract:

"The nature of King James the Second was farr different from that of Queen Elizabeth. He was a lamb, she a tyger. He compelled noe Protestant by fine, imprisonement, forfeiture of estate, or by death to turn Roman Catholick. She by all the said means tyranically constrained the Catholicks to embrace her phrenzy, and swear her to be (O profane woman!) Vicar of the Saviour of the world in the government of the Church of England. . . . In fine, this Jezabel with bloody force (as Mahomet extirpated the Christians of Asia) so she destroyed the Catholick religion of England (which had been there planted in the 7th age of Christianity in various miracles), after she had made an end of all the ould Bishops of the land in prison and exile, and murdered the inferiour clergy, and banished them; giving all the ecclesiastick liveings of the kingdom to mock-Bishops of her own, and to her ministers" (pp. 116-117).

The oldest record connected with the See of Dublin is the "Crede Mihi," the surviving portion of a register book of documents, chiefly relating to that See and ranging in date from 1178 to the latter part of the thirteenth century. Mr. Gilbert gives a calendar of its contents on pages 206-219. This is followed on pages 222-265 by excerpts from the "Red Book of the Diocese of Ossory." The documents in the archives of the Jesuits, extending from 1576 to 1698, consist of original letters and other papers, most of the former being addressed to the Generals of the Order. Mr. Gilbert has forgotten to name the place where these records are deposited. The reports on the civic muniments of Waterford and Galway (pp. 265-339, 380-520) constitute a valuable contribution to the study of municipal history, and are models of admirable editing. Those employed by the Commission to report on the municipal archives of England will do well to study Mr. Gilbert's method. This volume will add much to the good reputation which the Commission already enjoys. Every specialist in the domain of English, Irish, and Scotch history, and all who are interested in the advancement of historical learning, must feel under obligations to the Commission which is making such valuable treasures accessible to the public.

—One of the recent additions to Bohn's "Standard Library" (New York: Scribner & Welford) consists of a selection from the correspondence of Goethe with Zelter, edited and translated by A. D. Coleridge. The original correspondence appeared in 1833-34, in six volumes containing, in the aggregate, 855 letters. Of these Mr. Coleridge's volume gives us, wholly or in part, 382 numbers. The translator informs us that his first intention was to present the letters of Goethe in their entirety, with such extracts from those of Zelter as might be necessary in order to render the others intelligible. This plan, which would have necessitated two volumes, was given up; only a selection is offered from the letters of Goethe, these being often abridged, and not a little of Zelter is given apparently for its own sake. Whether the volume as it lies before us is worth the making, is a question which we should antecedently be disposed to answer in the negative. Zelter, it may not be wholly superfluous to say, was born in 1758, and became by trade a stonemason. He found time, however, to educate himself in letters, and especially in music, and, aside from his friendship with Goethe, his best title to remembrance is that he was the teacher of Felix Mendelssohn, and the "restorer" of Sebastian Bach. His acquaintance with Goethe began in 1799. A warm and intimate friendship, based upon a community of ideal interests, sprang up between them, and found expression in a correspondence which continued without long intermissions until the death of Goethe in March, 1832. This correspondence has always been accounted

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a valuable source of biographical information, although it reveals but little concerning the higher aspects of Goethe's intellectual life. It is, in fact, in the main, a quotidian chronicle of small beer which is only now and then lighted up with a stray glint of humor or a wise reflection such as one likes to store away in his memory. The daily occupation of the two correspondents, the doings of mutual friends, musical and theatrical interests, literary gossip—these are the staple themes of the original six volumes and of Mr. Coleridge's one volume. Few people in these days, we should imagine, would care to read this correspondence at all for purposes of literary edification, while all who might have occasion to use it as a source of biographical information will be able to read, and will naturally prefer, the original. At least so it would appear to us.

—Mr. Coleridge says, however, apparently by way of forestalling such criticism: "Any new light thrown upon Goethe's genius and character should be welcome to the student of German literature. The recent production of the *Jahrbuch*, and the affiliation of the English Goethe Society to the Weimar *Goethe-Gesellschaft*, have so stimulated the interest of readers in the publication of new matter affecting Goethe, that it is to be hoped the present volume may be opportune rather than otherwise." We sincerely hope that Mr. Coleridge does not misjudge his public. He has at any rate, so far as our comparisons have gone, done his own work well, and given us in good idiomatic English a large amount of matter, which does, in truth, throw some light upon Goethe's "genius and character," and a great deal more upon his daily walk and conversation during the last three decades of his life. Even the "small beer" will doubtless have its uses. There are those for whom Goethe in his later years is only a Sage throned in cærulean mists of speculation, and feeding from day to day upon sublime abstractions concerning Man, Nature, Art, and Science. To all such it will be salutary to look over the shoulders of their hero, so to speak, and watch him as he writes to his friend in Berlin: "Turnips and fish have arrived safely, the former beautifully dry, and the latter well frozen." . . . "The turnips are all the more welcome as there are no chestnuts on the Rhine or Main this year. So we do not eat them as a separate dish, but, served up with cabbage, they are very effective."

—The *Revue Internationale*, in its issue of January 10 (Christern), began the publication of an extremely valuable literary curiosity, the *journal intime* of Benjamin Constant. This entirely unintentional contribution to the literary history of the beginning of the century has been preserved among the private papers of the family of Constant de Rébecque, and it is to one of the descendants of the family, the Countess of Pückler-Branitz, that the present publication is due. At some time not stated, her father, M. Adrien Constant de Rébecque, seems to have made the selections now published, and to have written the short but excellent account of his famous relative which is given as an introduction. The journal itself begins at Weimar in 1804, when the writer's ten years of exile from France had just begun. His *amie* and companion in exile, Mme. de Staël, whose chains had already become very heavy for Constant, was then living near Leipzig. Here and elsewhere in Germany he made her flying visits, but the extracts at this period are generally at times when he was alone, and could give himself up to the delights of an intellectual life and the society of the great writers of the period, with whom he was in familiar contact. The names of Goethe, Schiller, Wieland, and later Schlegel and Sismondi, constantly recur, often accompanied by a judgment or an appreciation in which the most acute observation and insight are shown. No less clear-sighted and subtile are Constant's observations upon the authors whom he encounters only in his reading. Those upon Herder and Schelling are especially interesting, and also all his impressions of the "new philosophy" of Germany. The notes are generally very short, and they are written with the utmost simplicity and frankness. Very seldom is there anything that can be made to seem like posing, even for himself. A very clear and positive vision of Benjamin Constant disengages itself from these fragments of his journal, and an almost equally clear one of Mme. de Staël at this period of her life.

—*La fièvre verte*, in allusion to the green palms on the official academic costume, is an expression sometimes used to designate the intense desire that comes over French men of letters to be ranked among the "Forty Immortals." As all cannot be chosen, many have been the storms in the Academy when men representative of new ideas and tendencies have sought to be admitted. The history of these struggles may be read in the just published volume of M. Albert Rouxel, 'Chroniques des Élections à l'Académie Française' (Paris: Didot; Boston: Schoenhof). Unfortunately, it does not go beyond 1841, when Victor Hugo finally gained admittance, succeeding one of his bitterest enemies, Lemercier. Generally, however, whatever animosity the public at large might feel towards the candidates before their election, subsided when the Academy had decided upon its choice. In regard to the last two elections, this has not been the case. The choice of M. Hervé did not meet the approval of the Republicans generally; the choice of M. Gréard has not been taken kindly by the Monarchists. M. Hervé is a well-known and influential publicist, who, especially since he founded the journal *Le Soleil* in 1873, has devoted himself to the fusion of the Orleanists and the Legitimists. Since the death of the Comte de Chambord, he has been urging the Orleans princes to action. It is no wonder, then, that, in the present state of feeling towards the exiled princes, the choice of the Academy should not have been well received. The most radical even called for the immediate suppression of the august body, "the only monarchy that remains standing in France."

—With M. Gréard the case is different. He would here in no sense be looked upon as a political character. He has devoted his life to education. No man has done more for the development of primary instruction in France. His various reports on this subject are admirable documents of high literary merit. But the laicisation of schools is a burning question in France, and M. Gréard has incurred the ill-will of all who do not wish to see the education of the young in the hands of the laity. Great, therefore, was the outcry of the clerical and royalist press when he was chosen to succeed M. de Falloux, a *catholique libéral*. Why, say his opponents, not have chosen M. d'Haussonville, the son of an academician who died but recently, the grandnephew of another academician, the nephew of another still living, and the great-grandson of Mme. de Staël? Why choose M. Gréard, the "prompter of the school laws of the Republic." And then names, not over-courteous, are lavished on the new member elect. He is a *universitaire*, a pedagogue, his works are those of *un professeur de rhétorique*. Thus, while the revolutionists demand the suspension of the Academy because it is too monarchical, the monarchists and conservatives do not think it in harmony with the spirit of the day. Meanwhile, M. Gréard answers, in the only way becoming the new honor conferred upon him, by publishing a book which shows him to be worthy of it: 'L'Éducation des femmes par les femmes' (Paris: Hachette; Boston: Schoenhof). This is the first volume of a series of "Études et Portraits." It treats of Fénelon, J.-J. Rousseau, Mme. de Maintenon, Mme. de Lambert, Mme. d'Épinay, Mme. Necker, Mme. Roland, with a preface on Mme. de Sévigné. The author announces a second series as in preparation, reaching down to modern times.

GIUSEPPE VERDI.

Verdi: an Anecdotic History of his Life and Works. By Arthur Pougin. Scribner & Welford. 1887. Pp. 308.

THIS translation, by Mr. James E. Matthew, of the most complete biography of Verdi in existence, appears opportunely at a time when the musical world is busy talking about Verdi's latest and probably last work, "Otello." It cannot be said that it is anything more than what it purports to be—an anecdotic record of the composer's twenty-six ("Otello" not included) operatic productions in the order of their appearance, with details regarding their reception and the principal singers who took part in the first or otherwise notable performances. Inasmuch as of these twenty-seven operas only about half-a-dozen have ever had any vogue outside of Italy, some of these details are necessarily of little interest; yet the author wisely reserves most of his space for the best-known of Verdi's operas, and, moreover, gives a large number of new and entertaining biographic details, especially regarding the composer's youth. The reader who desires a critical estimate of Verdi's operas will find much more material in the forty pages which Dr. Hanslick devotes to them in his 'Moderne Oper' than in M. Pougin's 300 pages. It is perhaps fortunate that the latter abstains from criticism, for there are intimations that he would not disagree with a writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, who spoke of Verdi as "the foremost, or, we may almost say, the only dramatic, artist of our time."

In his first chapter M. Pougin reproduces a facsimile autograph of the certificate of Verdi's birth, extracted from the registers of the *état civil* of the commune of Busseto, which shows that Verdi was born in the same year as Wagner —1813—and not 1814, as is often stated. But in 1814 Verdi, as his biographer remarks, a second time owed his life to his mother. The Russians having invaded the village Le Roncole, she took refuge with others in the church. The soldiers, however, broke in, and a scene of carnage ensued. But Signora Verdi succeeded in hiding in the belfry with her little Giuseppe until the danger was over—an incident which one rather wonders that the composer of "Rigoletto" did not find a congenial subject for an operatic text. The boy received his first musical impressions from a poor wandering musician, whose "wretched violin charmed the little Verdi till he nearly fell into ecstasy," and who is supposed to have been the first to advise Verdi's father to let him study music. At the age of eight he managed to secure an old spinet which a tradesman repaired for his benefit, and the organist of the village church was his first teacher. In three years he had made so much progress that his father sent him to the neighboring town of Busseto, where he boarded with a cobbler for thirty centimes or six cents a day. Every Sunday he went on foot to Le Roncole to perform his duties as organist, for which he received the princely sum of $20 a year. On one of these expeditions he fell into a ditch on a dark night, and would probably have been drowned had not a peasant woman heard his cries and saved him.

To the world at large, Verdi is known exclusively as a composer of operas—including a

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quasi-operatic requiem. But his operatic career was preceded by a period of miscellaneous composition, as is shown in this citation from the *Gazzetta Musicale* of Milan:

"From the age of thirteen to that of eighteen, the period at which Verdi came to Milan to study counterpoint, he wrote a heap of compositions of all kinds: marches for band up to *a round hundred;* perhaps as many short symphonic pieces, which served for the church, for the theatre, or for the concert room; five or six concertos or airs with variations for the pianoforte, which he performed himself at concerts; many serenades, cantatas, airs, a vast number of duets, trios, and various works for the church, among which is a 'Stabat Mater.'"

Some of these pieces were utilized in his earliest operas; and subsequently, too, after the fashion of the time, Verdi did not hesitate to transfer to a new opera the best melodies of an earlier one that had failed. Nor is there any reason for objecting to such a proceeding in the case of Italian melodies, which rarely have any dramatic individuality or local color. If, on the other hand, we reflect on the incongruity of transferring, *e. g.*, the *Flying Dutchman* motive, or the swan motive in "Lohengrin," or the magic-fire music in the "Walküre," to another opera, we realize most vividly one cause of the superiority of the German music drama over Italian opera.

Many of the early compositions just enumerated were written for the Philharmonic Society of Busseto, at whose concerts Verdi at first played the drum, though subsequently advanced to the posts of pianist and conductor. Nevertheless, when he presented himself for examination at the Milan Conservatory, he was rejected—a fact attested by one of his own letters. But if his musical accomplishments failed to make any impression on the hard-hearted Conservatory professors, they served him a better turn in the case of the tender-hearted daughter of a friend and benefactor of his. He used to play four-hand pieces with this girl, and, as usual in such cases, engagement and marriage followed. Their happiness was of only a few years' duration. "In the space of about two months," he writes in a letter, "three loved ones had disappeared for ever. I had no longer a family. And, in the midst of this terrible anguish, to avoid breaking the engagement I had contracted, I was compelled to write and finish a comic opera." No wonder that this opera, "Un Giorno di Regno," failed. It was his second opera, the first having been "Oberto," on which his profits were $350. His next opera, "Nabuco," was a success—so much so that Verdi was asked to write the *opera d'obbligo* for the next carnival season, and to make his own terms. He asked for the same sum that Bellini had obtained for "Norma"—about $1,350. From this date the history of Verdi, so far as known, is little more than the history of his operas. These had the most diverse fortunes, some being successful everywhere, some only in Italy, and not a few of them failures even there. "Rigoletto," "La Traviata," and "Il Trovatore," however, had put his reputation on a firm basis for the time, and when, in 1869, the Khedive of Egypt asked him to write an opera for his new theatre in Cairo, the sum demanded—$20,000—was paid without a murmur. The copyright and other profits on his latest opera, "Otello," are said to amount already to almost twice that sum.

As Verdi's fame increased, his patriotic countrymen made numerous efforts to lionize him, but he never cared to be "trotted about" as a curiosity, having been averse all his life to posing as a genius. Even the offers of conducting one of his works in some new "Teatro Verdi" could not induce him to make an exception. To one such invitation he replied: "Everything opposes it—my age, my health, and, still more than everything else, my inclination. Just tell me, Mr. President, what should I do there? Show myself? Seek applause? That cannot be." Nor did offers of political honors tempt him. When Cavour wanted to unite in his first national Parliament all the men who had distinguished themselves in Italy, he begged Verdi to accept a seat in the Chamber of Deputies. Verdi refused at first, saying that he hated to find himself prominent, and wanted nothing but to be allowed to work quietly in retirement. Finally he consented to appear in the Chamber, but three months later he sent in his resignation. In 1875 Victor Emanuel appointed him a senator. He took the oath, yet, so far as M. Pougin is aware, has never taken his seat.

With all this retiring modesty, Verdi has always known how to preserve his dignity and insist on his rights as a composer. A few instances will illustrate this. During the rehearsals of "Ernani," the prima donna insisted on having the score end with a rondo in which she could display her powers of vocalization. Such a demand was nothing unusual in the palmy days of Italian opera, when the composers were the slaves of the singers, and had constantly to sacrifice their artistic conscience to the vanity and whims of famous vocalists. The librettist in this case was willing to accede to the prima donna's wishes, but Verdi "went off in one of those fits of artistic wrath which the poet had long been accustomed to submit to with great philosophy. 'Do you wish,' said he, 'to ruin the finest situation in the work?'" And he firmly refused to do it. On another occasion, when his "Vêpres Siciliennes" was brought out at Paris, Manager Perrin begged Verdi to conduct some performances. Verdi consented, but insisted on having an orchestral rehearsal. The members of the orchestra, however, appeared in a sullen humor, playing at first much too fast, and, after being remonstrated with, dragging the tempo in an extravagant manner. "It is a poor joke, no doubt," Verdi remarked to the *chef d'orchestre*, Dietsch. "The fact is, Maestro," replied Dietsch, "these gentlemen think that they have no need to rehearse." "Really?" "Yes; they have their own private business." "Ah, they have their own business, which is not that of the Opéra. That makes a difference." With this he seized his hat, left the house, and did not enter it again, although he had his revenge, for Dietsch was discharged three days later. When in 1873 the manager of the Opéra applied for permission to produce "Aïda," Verdi wrote: "I have been so little satisfied each time that I have had to do with your great theatre, that I am not disposed to risk a new attempt. . . . I have not the courage to face again all the trickery and opposition which rule in that theatre, of which I have preserved a painful recollection."

Considering the obscure and uninviting character of most of Verdi's libretti, one is rather surprised to read that he took great pains personally in having everything to suit himself. Concerning one of his librettists, who prepared eight of his texts, M. Pougin writes: "A tolerably bad poet, quite wanting in invention, Piave was not without a certain skill as librettist, and he had, from Verdi's point of view, the overwhelming quality of effacing himself completely, of putting aside every kind of personal vanity, and of following entirely the indications and the desires of the composer, cutting out this, paring down that, shortening or expanding at the will of the latter—giving himself up, in short, to all his exigencies, whatever they might be." In some cases the censors made sad havoc of his libretti. In another place M. Pougin informs us that Verdi not only always chooses the subject of his operas, but, in addition to that, "he draws out the sketch of the libretti, indicates all the situations, constructs them almost entirely as far as regards the general plan, brings his personages and his characters on the stage, in such a way that his *collaborateur* has simply to follow his indications to bring the whole together and to write the verses." The best of his libretti is "Aïda," the author of which, M. du Locle, says, in a letter, that he wrote it "scene by scene, phrase by phrase, under the eye of the maestro, who took a large share in the work. The idea of the finale of the last act, with its two stages, one above the other, belongs especially to him." In his "Otello" Verdi has been still more fortunate in having the services of Signor Boïto, who, being an able composer, knows just what a musician wants.

This is not the place to discuss the merits of Verdi's music, but it is amusing to read that in Paris and London for a long time he was declared to be no melodist. If his operas should not survive the present century, the fault will not be a lack of melody, but a lack of concentration and elaboration of details. Wagner required two or three years of hard labor to complete a score, every page of which bears evidence of his genius. Verdi did not go to such extremes in the opposite direction as some of his predecessors, who often wrote an opera in a fortnight (their *names* are still preserved); he usually devoted four months to an opera. "Rigoletto" was written in forty days, and "Don Carlos" in six months. "Aïda," which is by far the best of his operas, owes some of its excellence to the fact that the scenery prepared for its first performance was locked up in Paris during the Prussian siege, which gave Verdi opportunity to retouch and polish his score.

ANCIENT ISRAEL.—I.

Geschichte des Volkes Israel. Von Dr. Bernhard Stade, Professor an der Universität Giessen. Mit Illustrationen und Karten. Vol. I. Berlin. 1887. New York: Westermann. ['Oncken's Weltgeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen.']

HALF a century ago, ancient Israelitish history was generally written as Roman history was before Niebuhr. It began with Ur of the Chaldees and the stories of the patriarchs, just as the history of Rome began with Alba Longa, its kings, and Romulus and Remus. The narratives of Genesis, Exodus, Joshua, or Judges were repeated like the legends of Livy, as traditions containing much that is naturally impossible, but on the whole historical. The story of Sarah's maternity might be left untold, like that of Rhea Silvia's, but the wonderful escape of the infant Moses appeared more natural than that of Romulus, the capture of Jericho was recorded like that of Veii, and the regicide of Ehud like the deed of Mucius Scævola. The miraculous was reverently separated from the naturally possible, and this presented as history. Jacob migrated with his family through Canaan, though he may not have wrestled with God or an angel; Moses gave to his people laws at Sinai, no matter whether the mountain smoked or not; Joshua routed the Canaanites at Gibeon, the sun standing or moving; Samson again and again smote the Philistines, though never, perhaps, with the jaw-bone of an ass. This manner of writing the early history of Israel has now become almost obsolete, though not through the powerful efforts of any single Niebuhr in this field.

Israelitish history has been slowly but completely revolutionized by the steady and progressive labor of many eminent scholars, mostly German. The discoveries of Egyptology and Assyriology have had their share in the work. Biblical criticism, an evolution of very old growth, has paved the way for critical history, which, after emancipating itself from the bondage of orthodoxy about the close of the last century,

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has in our time succeeded in throwing off also the shackles of literary tradition. Ewald's 'Geschichte des Volkes Israel,' which made its appearance more than forty years ago, marks the first great advance. But Ewald was more bold than free, more suggestive than sound; he stimulated to further work without laying foundations. Hitzig, whose smaller history with the same title (1869) followed Ewald's last edition, was freer, almost reckless, in the treatment of details, but not more independent of the traditional views concerning the composition and comparative documentary value of the Pentateuch narratives. But almost simultaneously with Hitzig's book appeared, in Holland, Kuenen's 'Godsdienst van Israël,' which, clearly developing the results successively matured by Vatke, Reuss, and Graf as to the growth of Israelitish religion and legislation, presented a wholly transformed aspect of both the history and historical literature of the people. Wellhausen, in his 'Geschichte Israels' (vol. i, 1878) and other writings, has carried out in grand style, and firmly established, the "Graf and Kuenen theory." Stade, in the volume before us, stands on the same basis, but goes a little beyond Wellhausen in historical and literary iconoclasm, and evinces sufficient independent research and original ingenuity to take a place among the successive leading writers on the subject. To define his standpoint is to sketch the latest stage at which Israelitish historiography, led by the strings of Biblical text criticism and archæology, has arrived in Germany and Holland. Let us hear him first as to the narrative sources of his history.

The Pentateuch was composed of original documents of widely different character. It embraces two works presenting the early legends of the people, written with the object of glorifying the national worship; two law books; and a work comprising both legend and law. Its Hebrew name, Torah (law), is derived from the book of laws discovered during the reign of King Josiah, in 621 B. C., which forms now a part of the so-called fifth book of Moses, or Deuteronomy. Its oldest original document is the historical writing of a Judæan narrator, now distinguished as the Jehovist, from the constant use of the name Jenovah. This document contains mainly mythical accounts referring to the patriarchs, Moses, and the sacred spots in Canaan. It was probably composed in the latter half of the ninth century B. C. The next in age is the work of the Ephraimitish Elohist, often called the second Elohist, from whom we have the Decalogue, and whose images of God (whom in his recitals of pre-Mosaic events he calls Elohim) are less anthropomorphic than those of the older narrator. It was written about 750 B. C. These two works were loosely woven into one, about a century and a quarter later, by a writer imbued with the spirit of the prophetic productions of the preceding periods, who may be designated as the first or pre-Deuteronomic redactor. The same (or else the later Deuteronomistic) redactor may have inserted the third component part, the so-called Book of the Covenant (contained in Ex. xx–xxiv), a codified collection of ancient law usages, probably executed about 690 B. C. A more important component part is the Torah discovered and promulgated in 621, the Deuteronomy proper—with an historical introduction and exhortative supplements—in the spirit of which some of the older narratives were redactorially modified. The youngest part is the Priestly Codex, or the Groundwork, composed in Babylonian exile. It consists of legal enactments and narrative portions. The former, though ascribed to Mosaic revelation, were elaborated for use in the restored Jewish state and temple; the latter gave a post-exilian coloring to the patriarchal history of Israel. A later redactor—Ezra or a man of his time, about 460 B. C.—joined the Groundwork to the older historical parts, adapted the latter to the chronological plan of the former, and completed the Pentateuchal compilation.

Very similar in composition is the book of Joshua, which, in fact, forms with the Pentateuch a larger whole, now frequently designated as the Hexateuch. It contains little of the narrative of the Jehovist, has ample extracts from the (second) Elohist, shows the same Deuteronomistic varnishing, and comprises portions of the Groundwork. The Jehovist knew no Joshua as conqueror of the land west of the Jordan; the Elohist recounted this conquest under Joshua—originally an Ephraimitish hero—in imitation of the legends of Moses's conquest of the Transjordanic lands; the Groundwork fully transformed Joshua into a second Moses. A redactor later than Ezra combined all these component parts into the present book, when the Pentateuch had already obtained its canonical sanction as the Torah. The Torah alone was accepted by the Samaritans as canonical. Even additions of a later period, which are wanting in the Septuagint version, are discoverable in Joshua. The book of Judges is a still freer, unauthentic compilation. Its heroes are almost all unhistorical; they are *heroes eponymi*, legendary representatives of clans. Thus Jephthah is designated as the son of Gilead, and Gilead, like Gad, designates a tribe and its territory. What is related of his fight with the Ephraimites is an imitation of the story of Gideon. His fight with the Ammonites is told without any tangible features. The names of the Judges Ehud, Elon, Tola, and Jair appear elsewhere in lists of towns and clans. That Ibzan and Abdon are eponymi representing clans is evident from the fact that only their places and the numbers of their children are stated. "These remarks will have proved that a period of judges preceding the period of kings cannot be spoken of seriously." There were kings, or chiefs of clans, like Gideon or Shamgar, but no judges of Israel. There was no united Israel then, and still less an Israel theoretically organized, such as the story of the struggle with Benjamin at Gibeah presents to us. This story is a *Tendenzroman*, "contradicting everything we know of Hebrew antiquities." Ruth is a post-exilian idyl, also composed for a purpose. The picture of Samuel, in the first book of that name, shows most clearly "the character of Hebrew historical tradition by its transformation of the traditional matter." In the oldest traditional form Samuel is a seer and priest of the Ephraimitish town of Ramah. Later he is brought into connection with the ancient sanctuary of Shiloh, as the true heir to the priesthood of the house of Eli. Still later he is transformed into a prophet in the style of Amos or Isaiah, who fearlessly steps before the king and declares that God likes obedience better than sacrifice. The second book of Samuel and the books of Kings contain, of course, more genuinely historical matter, but even the contents of the last-named work are "partly worthless and almost everywhere deficient." Entirely untrustworthy is Chronicles, in whatever it does not directly draw from the other books of the canon, although here and there valuable threads are woven into its tissues.

All these books, as we now have them, are thus very deceptive guides as to the earlier periods. And yet they contain a vast amount of information. To make their accounts valuable a constant application of critical operations is needed, in which the historian is guided by the light derived from Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and other prophets, whose writings not only are true mirrors of their own times, but also clearly reflect the conditions of things in preceding ages. A few poetical fragments of older date, imbedded in the historical relations, can also be turned to good account. Every historical book, every narrative, must be analyzed and dissected into its component parts; the original text and its age, if possible, discovered; every addition, insertion, interpolation—and they are numberless—found out, examined, and reduced to its proper value; concurrent, explanatory, or contradictory testimony compared and weighed; everything spurious fearlessly rejected. Out of the saved residue the tissue of genuine history must be rewoven. The analytical work of free criticism has been carried on with unremitting zeal, and often with corresponding ingenuity and success, for more than a century; the reconstructing process is of our own age. The minor results obtained are very numerous, much rests on plausible conjecture, and much is still covered with obscurity. The general aspect of history is changed, as we shall see.

HAYWARD'S CORRESPONDENCE.

A Selection from the Correspondence of Abraham Hayward, Q.C., from 1834 to 1884. With an Account of his Early Life. Edited by Henry E. Carlisle. 2 vols. Scribner & Welford. 1887.

MR. HAYWARD, alluding at the end of his life to his literary début as the translator of "Faust," humorously remarks: "Lady Blanche Hozier asked me, the other day, if I read German; and it is by no means the first time that the same question has been put to me." It is as the author of that excellent prose version of Goethe's great work, published more than half a century ago, that his name is best known, though he has a reputation of another sort as a critic, which rests upon the solid and copious volumes of his reviews. He was born in 1801, and, after school days, was articled to a solicitor, and in due course entered at the Inner Temple. He joined the famous London Debating Society which Mill and the philosophical Radicals had founded, where he supported the Tory side, and in 1828 he became editor of the *Law Magazine*, which was established to further the cause of law reform. Out of his interest in this subject grew some relations with the law professors at Göttingen, whom he visited in 1831, and this was the beginning of his extensive acquaintance on the Continent, which was afterwards of great influence on his career. The immediate literary result of this trip to Germany was the translation of "Faust," issued in 1833, which at once gave its author the position of a known man of letters. Mr. Hayward remained a working lawyer, however, and received in 1845 an appointment to the rank of Queen's Counsel; but this advancement, giving rise to a professional quarrel in consequence of the Benchers refusing the customary election to their body, practically terminated his legal career. He had been received into society, and, as he was already in association with eminent party men, he fell naturally into politics, as one of the Peelites, and was a main support of the *Morning Chronicle* while it was in the interest of that coterie. His labors in journalism were signalized by his writing a leading article on an important debate, on the bill for the repeal of the Navigation Laws, in season for the morning's paper—a feat of which it is said: "It revolutionized at a stroke the whole art of leader-writing, and statesmen found all at once that, with a quiet man of letters sitting in a corner of the gallery with a bit of pencil, they had to lay their account for prompt and energetic criticism in the newspapers the next day, concurrently with the publication of their own speeches, instead of criticism the day after, when the speeches had done their work."

The close connection with public life which Mr. Hayward formed in the course of these years

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was maintained by him; and, though he was never in the House or in Government, his place in society, his long experience and his abilities, and a certain knowledge of men, sustained him in an unofficial position of influence. Thiers made him the channel of advice during the Crimean war; and in 1870, during the former's diplomatic tour to solicit the good offices of the Powers in behalf of France, his first visit in England was at the rooms of his old friend. Slidell, of Confederate fame, also used Mr. Hayward as a means of communication in his efforts to obtain recognition for his Government; and, in connection with this, one notes a call he made on Motley at Vienna in 1862, whom he found "more unreasonable than ever, vowing that the restoration of the Union in its entirety was 'as sure as the sun in heaven.'" In the changes of the Ministries, especially in the days of coalition, Mr. Hayward was *en rapport* with the principals, and occasionally was useful in personal negotiations. It was on services of this nature, in the formation of Lord Aberdeen's Cabinet, that he grounded his application for a Charity Commissionership, which failed; and it is curious to note his observation on this incident: "When men work together for a party object, they are all entitled, in their several ways, to a share in the advantage of success." This is not the spoils doctrine, for which it might be mistaken, but that of party reward in filling new or vacant offices as against the aristocratic system of nepotism.

Mr. Hayward never obtained any of the material fruits of political service, though a second attempt was made for him in later years. He was successively in intimate relations with Lyndhurst, Newcastle, Palmerston, and Gladstone, and apparently grew liberal with his times. It is amusing to find him dismissing Disraeli in 1850 in a couple of lines as "very nearly if not quite forgotten"; and he adds, "How soon one of these puffed-up reputations goes down!" In 1880 he writes, "I have been longing for the fall of the Disraeli Government as I did for the fall of the Second Empire." He had taken his name off the Carlton Club in 1870, having apparently had the experience of much bad manners there, after it became more a strictly political club than it was in the first part of the century; and he was evidently a thorough-going Liberal when he died, as we read in one of his last letters, "During my long life I never remember a period when the English *people* were less Radical than now." Ten years ago Gladstone was writing to him in respect to the obstructiveness of the Upper Ten Thousand in the political progress of the century, to the same effect as was the language he used upon the stump in the last campaign. Hayward's interest in politics continued unabated until his death.

In the whole course of his career he was a careful and fluent writer, being reckoned the best of the essayists of the old school; and since, in his later years, he had the great advantage of treating of men whom he had known all about in life, his work has a special interest and value. Literature consequently shares with politics the pages of this correspondence, which derives considerable lustre from the many distinguished names among the signatures. At the date of the beginning of the series Mr. Hayward was thirty-three years old, and had already given some of those little dinners at his rooms in the Temple for which he was afterward noted. He gathered there intellectual men and brilliant women, and in particular he exercised hospitality toward foreigners; men so various as Gen. von Radowitz, Louis Blanc, and the poet Dupont, being among his guests. He gives in one place a few instances of the ignorance of one another among the eminent writers of Europe that had come under his observation. Manzoni did not know Bulwer by name in 1834; Schlegel, arriving in England in 1832, had not heard of Macaulay; M. Charles Dupin did not know of Babbage's 'Manufactures' four months after publication; and Say, the economist, was unacquainted with Whately's name, though Mr. Hayward found in Say's library at the time a presentation copy of the 'Lectures' "from the Archbishop of Dublin." At Mr. Hayward's rooms such international indifference was as likely to be corrected as anywhere in London. He made many short journeys to the Continent, usually to Paris, and thus renewed and strengthened old ties and formed new ones; but his travels dealt with persons of distinction and affairs, and were fruitful only of information and social alliances. The mass of his correspondence, consequently, is wide in range of acquaintance, and friendly in tone; there is in it naturally a very large proportion of what is transitory and not a little that is trivial —society and political news, the record of dinners, the chances of Parliament, ministerial changes, etc. The whole is a very heterogeneous collection of notes and letters, light and serious, dull and entertaining, but it affords a fair retrospect of half a century of London life in the world of affairs and entertainment. Of the substance it is to be said that it has less solid value than one would have expected.

The literary portion is extraordinarily meagre. The best of the letters are from the sprightly pen of Mrs. Norton; and the feminine correspondence in general is the most pleasant feature of the volumes. Very few of the letters, however, deal with literary reputations either in the way of anecdote or criticism. In reply to a request for material for an essay upon Rogers, Mrs. Norton writes very justly of him as a small man filling a miraculously large place in the world, and defines his individuality by saying that tastes were to him what passions are to other men: "He did nothing rash. I am sure Rogers as a baby never fell down, *unless he was pushed;* but walked from chair to chair of the drawing-room furniture steadily and quietly till he reached the place where the sunbeam fell on the carpet." He preferred a lullaby to the merriest game of romps, she thinks, and would have begged that his long clothes might be made of fine *mull* muslin instead of cambric, which was capable of a thing "he loathed, *starch.*" Lady Dufferin writes on the same subject: "I never could *lash myself* into a feeling of affection or admiration for him. . . . I have heard him say many graceful things, but few kind ones, and he never seemed to me thoroughly in earnest save in expressing contempt or dislike. . . . It seemed a positive pain to him to hear any modern poet praised, and I remember his treating me with a rudeness almost bearish because I indiscreetly avowed how much I admired Tennyson's 'Princess.'" She then tells the anecdote of being accidentally left in the dark with him, and his jest: "Ah, my dear, if sweet seventy-eight could come again! *Mais ces beaux jours sont passés.*" Besides these brief passages on Rogers there is really nothing of interest in regard to the world of letters, except an opinion of Bulwer's on Macaulay, in which he remarks that the historian's acquaintance with the world—that is, with men's actual characters—was slight, and then recites what are now the commonplaces of criticism on Macaulay (but this was in 1861)—that his style excludes many of the nobler excellences, being without modesty or suggestiveness, and is, besides, indebted to coarse tricks of art in color and contrast, while the secret of his vogue is discovered in his relieving his readers from any necessity to think. Apropos of a wordy letter of Carlyle's, Mr. Hayward himself writes: "I never yet followed him to the authorities without finding him wrong. In my 'Essay on Marshal Saxe' I have proved from signed documents that Carlyle's labored account of the battle of Fontenoy is essentially incorrect. He is a man of genius, undoubtedly, but he has injured instead of improving literature and taste; and, as to his conversation, if he spoke English and attended to the rules of good breeding, its charm for the mass of his admirers would disappear." In another place is an equally brief judgment on Balzac, whom he was rereading in his seventy-eighth year and found not to improve: "the fineness of observation and analysis of feeling are undeniable, but his descriptions, both of places and characters, are tediously spun out, his plots teem with improbability, and he has a vulgar fondness for wealth and rank."

These extracts practically comprise the entire literary interest of the two volumes; nor are there any anecdotes by the way to speak of, if we except the droll suggestion of Hook to Lord Lyndhurst, who had come to a dinner with gold-laced trousers, that "to appear with all his glories he should reverse his position in the chair." Lord Lyndhurst appears very agreeably in the earlier pages, but death soon removed him. To him is attributed the witticism apropos of Mme. Genlis's keeping her books in detached cases, the male authors in one and the female in the other, that the reason was "she did not wish to add to her library"—a joke unfairly claimed by James Smith.

Of the correspondence with public men, that of Sir Henry Bulwer (Lord Dalling) is of most note. In his long and varied service he had experience of state affairs in many lands, and his remarks are pointed, shrewd, and sensible. Writing of the Ionian Island difficulty in 1863, he illustrates his width of view and soundness of principle: "The tendency to resign empire is a dangerous one for an empire to fall into; but if a people wish to get out of your hands, and public opinion is not for keeping them, a Minister in what is called, and is, a free country can have no policy of his own in the matter." And, again, of the Eastern question, in the same year, he states the function of England very aptly as being "to prevent no government taking the place of some government, and urging and helping a bad government to be better than it was." As the negotiator of the Bulwer-Clayton Treaty, what he thought of our diplomacy has some interest, and he expressed his opinion very frankly on the question of the indirect claims being urged under the Washington Treaty: "When I had to make a treaty with them [the American statesmen] I took the trouble of going over all their own treaties, and only using in important passages such words as they had used, in the sense in which they had used them. Then when they began their usual disputes about interpretation, I quoted their own authority. All their own newspapers acknowledged I was right." Sir Henry's mode of meeting his cousins in diplomacy was one of commendable safety. He exhibits solidity and sense on all occasions where he is met in these letters, and yet there was a vein of daring in him hardly consonant with his caution. His characterization of Peel as a state-clock which was silent till it struck the hour, is admirable, as are also his observations on the inconveniences of such a political time-piece in a representative Government.

There are one or two interesting communications from Mr. A. G. Dunlop about Spain, in which he notices that Spanish art was a temporary importation from Italy, as Spanish wealth was from America, and both almost to be classed as matters of chance, not national development; and he contrasts the Spanish peasant with the Italian, South German, or Greek people, as without appreciation of art, not caring for flowers or trees even, and staring at pictures only be-

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cause they are "holy" and appeal to his superstition. He adds that the Spaniards are likewise without any desire for knowledge, and declares there is no *avenir* for the pure-blooded race: "If the Spaniard remain any longer as he is in spite of railways and increased intercourse, the commerce of the seaboard will more and more slip away into the hands of foreigners—French, German, Swede, English—and the pure race (native) will fall back on the interior and inland villages, hewers of wood and drawers of water." There are letters, too, from Lady Clanricarde (daughter of George Canning), with excellent passages on the condition of Ireland, worth reading now as evidence of the long-established, long well-known state of affairs there. "It appears to me," she says, "contrary to all I have seen or read that a great amount of discontent *continuing* in a country should not produce serious results of some sort." This concludes the list of really notable letters in the department of public affairs.

Of Mr. Hayward himself one forms a conception not very deeply marked. Mr. W. E. Forster says that the unique characteristic of his political thought and experience was "the result of a curious combination of a hard, worldly, even cynical appreciation of men and things, with strong sympathy with popular movements, and ideal aspirations." He had enemies and prejudices; but his strength of character seems to have included independence, sincerity, and perfect courage as elements, and he was undoubtedly liberalized by the variety of his associations with other minds. His career was laborious and honored, and one cannot but regret that he left no more extensive and notable memoirs, as he might well have done. This correspondence is but a meagre substitute.

CONWAY'S EARLY FLEMISH ARTISTS.

Early Flemish Artists and their Predecessors on the Lower Rhine. By Wm. Martin Conway. Macmillan & Co. 1887.

Prof. Conway has given us a very interesting and exhaustive book on the character and affiliation of the earliest naturalistic school of painting which has ever existed, so far as we know. If, in his bent in favor of the art in which he has in his past studies most interested himself, he has now and then lost sight of the great standard of absolute art, we need not therefore disparage his admirable summary of that art which is his specialty. When, for instance, he says, "Enter beneath the sculptured portal of Our Lady of Paris, and say, have any people (even the Greeks themselves) attained higher rank in the expression of noble thought through the language of the chisel? Has the brush of the painter been more deftly wielded than by the tender hand of a Wilhelm of Köln?" we are compelled to bring him to book on the terminology of art, because "higher rank" means higher artistic achievement in expression of the ideal, and a higher degree of refinement in that expression; and, with all admiration for the fertility of invention and decorative instinct of the Gothic church builders, we must maintain that Greek sculpture is higher art than Gothic, since it is carried nearer to the perfection of those qualities of expression which are the especial *raison d'être* of plastic art. Neither can we accept his estimate of the comparative qualities of Gothic color (p. 4), or the political dignity of a "world-emperor and a world-bishop," which are entities only possible in the dark ages whose exaltation as a world epoch Prof. Conway has undertaken. Nor can we admit the distinctions drawn between mediæval and modern relations between art and religion as he has stated them. That there *was* a difference is certain, for now we have little of that form of religious feeling which hinges on belief in a priesthood or the necessity of churches to faith, nor have we any great amount of serious or really sincere art; but it is a part of a great idealizing process we too generally indulge in, in reference to the past, to say that

"the life of Christ, to the Gothic mind, was a permeating influence in the whole course of human life. The husbandman at his plough and the churchman at his prayers were *alike* fulfilling their heaven-appointed task, and were *alike* performing a religious action. For this reason you will find that the Gothic church bears always in prominent position representations of the occupations of the months of the year, these occupations being as much a part of the Christian religion as the events of the life of Christ himself."

So far as the influence of the true life and character of Christ are concerned, they had as little to do with human life in Gothic spheres as now, and as much as the life of Buddha—it was the ecclesiastical organization and the heavy mastery of the priesthood, forbidding thought to rise beyond its control, which made the life of the dark ages so full of the imagery of the Christian religion. The churchman as little thought of heaven in his prayers as the husbandman at his plough, and, in one sense, therefore, they were "alike" sincere. Heaven no more belongs to the fools than the knaves, and ignorance was the gift of the husbandman as hypocrisy and sanctimony of the priest, through the properly so-called dark ages, which were dark in spite of art, because human reason and human liberty were alike darkened by the "world-emperor and the world-bishop" of Prof. Conway's admiration.

We might object seriously to the large portico made before the history of painting by the dissertation on Gothic sculpture, but at least our author might, in giving his subject true proportions, have made more account of the share which Byzantine art in both branches had in the general result, and ask what he means by the sentence, "When the Jewish philosophers introduced the commentaries of Averroës and the Arabians to the philosophers of Christendom, and thereby gave substance to the nascent opposition of Nominalist and Realist, they sowed the seed which was in due time to produce *that convulsed offspring*—the Reformation." We are disposed to question all the conclusions of Prof. Conway based on hypothetical religious influences, which are a very dubious part of the true motives of any art, though they do indisputably provide subjects for its exercise. Religion, coupled with intelligence, leads to freedom and right—its form is secondary in the consideration; coupled with ignorance, it becomes superstition, and this has been the same in all epochs and countries and with all forms of belief. "The religion of the thirteenth century," says our author, "was one for free use at every moment of the day. It mingled in and *tended to sanctify every act of life*. Barter and sale, manufacture and war, alike presented their religious aspect at that noble time." But there is no evidence whatever that any change has taken place in human nature, or that there were more honest men in the thirteenth century than to-day, or that good work of any kind was more due to religious sincerity than now. What made art more sincere, if it was so, was the fact that the artist was regarded as a craftsman, and held to the same standard as the weaver, the blacksmith, etc., etc., and to a strictly commercial responsibility, while now art rarely ministers to anything but a poor personal vanity or a formal and insincere devotion. The history of the guilds of the various arts and trades, which the author traces in great fulness, is therefore of the highest interest, and will explain better than any other agency the qualities of the mediæval artist:

"Painting, to the mediæval mind, was a craft like any other, and was therefore organized in the usual way. A painter did not look upon himself and was not regarded [by others] as a person superior to ordinary discipline. It is only in times of decay that artists give themselves airs, and require to be considered in a Bohemian category of their own. In the great ages of art painters lived like other craftsmen, and were paid for the work they did according to a fair scale of remuneration."

The chapter on the guild system and its effect upon art may be studied with great profit. What Prof. Conway says on the character of fifteenth-century art is sometimes indicative of his incomplete technical knowledge, as, for instance, where he compares Titian with the Flemings, saying: "Painters like Titian, whose pictures from beginning to end seldom took so many days as those of a Fleming occupied months, might with little sacrifice abandon any unpromising work and start afresh." He might have learned that Titian was occupied always for months on his pictures, and that the appearance of dash and energy in the finished result was simply the foundation, which showed through repeated and most studious repainting. So far from being the facile work Prof. Conway imagines it, Titian's process was long and complicated, and required the most absolute certainty in its beginnings. But in what he says of the philosophy of art he is more correct:

"The historian of art has it continually forced upon him that with the growth of civilization the artistic power of the human species by no means continually increases. What was possible to a less developed generation is impossible to one more advanced; and indeed it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the artistic powers of the human race, far from increasing in periods of general progress, may often notably diminish. It would seem, then, that certain forms of art production, beautiful enough in themselves to excite the wonder and admiration of succeeding ages, are possible only to a semi-developed race, and demand an order of intellect inferior to that of the after-coming men who yet must bow before them in delighted awe."

The fact is well stated, but to explain it it is only necessary to remember that the growth of the rationalistic and æsthestic powers does not run in parallel lines. The latter is emotional, and emotion is checked and often deprived of its normal outcome by the domination of reason. As human progress goes on, it involves large alternations of development—reason and feeling taking by turns the guidance; and art is only possible in any of its true phases when feeling controls the intellectual activity. What we call "progress," which means to us simply progress in scientific attainment, has nothing to do with art; for, as Prof. Conway says, "Art gains very little [he might have said nothing] from the progress of science." But what he says further on, "Hence the art of any generation depends not upon its knowledge but upon its ideals of Faith and Hope," is not true, for faith is an intellectual exercise and hope one of temperament, possibly artistic and possibly not, while art is emotional and imaginative; and though, as mental influences, religion and devotion may prove quickening to any emotional tendency, it is only as any other cause of emotion, as love or the influences of nature, may be.

We have only space to say that, as is general in English illustrated art works, the present illustrations are quite unworthy of the text, and such as an American publisher should, and probably would, be ashamed of. They answer an educational purpose, but give a book a cheap and unconsidered aspect.

Dr. Channing's Note Book. Passages from the unpublished MSS. of William Ellery Channing. Selected by his granddaughter, Grace

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Ellery Channing. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1887.

THE origin of these 'Notes' is not made so clear by the editress in her preface as one could wish. We are told that they "are from unpublished MSS. left by him [Dr. Channing] and set apart for this purpose by his nephew and biographer, William Henry Channing, and his son." "For this purpose" means, presumably, for the purpose of this or some similar volume; but "unpublished MSS." suggests something different from the memoranda which Miss Channing's material appears to have been, judging from subsequent expressions. That "it was Dr. Channing's habit to make notes at all times" is another doubtful phrase, suggesting a more engrossing habit of note-taking than our knowledge of the man permits us to attribute to him. The editing is better than the preface, but here and there we find an obvious slip. On page 7, we should certainly read, "If I have been invigorated," and not, "If I have invigorated." On page 8 the second paragraph should have been omitted, unless the place meant by "here" could have been bracketed. As it stands, it reflects too severely upon Boston. On page 100, "sensualist" should be "sensationalist," even if Dr. Channing wrote the former, as he surely did not mean it. On page 19, "Past powers" should evidently be "Vast powers."

Dr. Channing's style was so little aphoristic or epigrammatic, its stream was so essential to its effect, that he appears to better advantage in these brief, disconnected paragraphs than we should have imagined that he would. Not that he is often aphoristic or epigrammatic here, but he is so at times, and generally the sentences in their isolation are more impressive and agreeable than isolated sentences are apt to be. Even such admirable separate sentences as those of Joubert and Amiel kill each other by juxtaposition, like many pictures together in a gallery. Of the more epigrammatic, one of the best examples is on page 14: "The suppression of the multitude by force is not order. It is rebellion kept down." "We must become our own friends" is shorter and as good. The sentences are grouped under about fifty different heads. Those under the head of "Slavery" show how swift was his deduction of anti-slavery principles from the dignity of human nature: "I would no more think of owning a man than of owning the earth or heavens." The following, which comes just before the slavery section, should have been included in it, for it evidently refers to Garrison and his coadjutors: "Is any class of men to be so honored as those who espouse the cause of the most friendless, and who can gain nothing but reproach, who make no compromise with opinion?" The section on "Self-Culture" has the ring of Emerson's "Self-Reliance": "To give ourselves up to others to be guided, controlled, and so forth, is to betray our trust." "Is not the mind to be made strong by exposure? must it be housed, nursed, kept within limits? may it not be trusted amidst all kinds of opinions? Let us associate with the wise as *friends*, but, like Jesus, dine with sinners." His individualism is of the same piece with these sentences, and is another proof of the substantial unity of his thought with Emerson's: "I may desire others' virtue, but must not interfere with their freedom." "It were better for a man to do a wrong act in obeying his own conscience, than a right one in obeying mine." This, under the head "Thought: Reason," is well put: "Doubt must have the authority of reason. How, then, can we doubt its authority?" And this also: "The very question why we trust our faculties is an appeal to them." Under the head "God: Religion" we have these unconventional opinions: "We have no forms in domestic life. Friendship has none. Is not religion more free?" "It is as incongruous to profess religion as to profess benevolence." "The adoration of goodness—this is religion": a sentence that some modern Unitarian conservatives will very much regret.

Dr. Channing, as did Parker after him, contemplated an *opus magnum*. Parker's was to be a history of religion. The exigencies of the anti-slavery conflict prevented its completion. Channing's was to be a treatise on psychology. His health was not equal to the necessary labor. The sentences included by Miss Channing under the last six or seven sections of her little book are from the notes he made for that intended work. They indicate that it would have had little formal exactness, hardly more than Emerson's Essays. They also indicate that we must class him with the transcendentalists. His idealism is only less absolute than Emerson's, after Fichte. It is that of Kant—allowing the not-me, but insisting on its plastic character: "The truth is, our sensations flow from us and furnish the universe with its varying robes." "It is the soul which aggrandizes nature."

The Rise and Early Constitution of Universities, with a Survey of Mediæval Education. By S. S. Laurie, LL.D. [International Education Series.] D. Appleton & Co. 1887.

IN three hundred pages, Prof. Laurie of Edinburgh presents an interesting study of the higher education of Europe during a period which stretches from the ninth to the fourteenth century. Two introductory chapters exhibit briefly the character of preceding Greek and Roman schools, and also the changes which came about when cloister and cathedral began to appropriate learning to themselves and to teach those who were to conduct their offices. The closing chapters repeat in topical form the results of the previous survey. They discuss the changes of meaning in the term university, and gather together the more important facts about the university studies, students, faculties, privileges, discipline, and graduation. A somewhat abstract preface by Dr. W. T. Harris opens the book, and no index ends it.

Prof. Laurie's thesis is, that until the fourteenth century there was no conscious founding of universities. A university grew, and was not made. The germ from which it started was usually some religious foundation. An ecclesiastical school began to admit lay pupils and to teach its trivium and quadrivium with some relation to secular life. With the enlargement of learning and the increase of civic liberties, came the need of specialized studies to supplement the ordinary work in arts. A great teacher—Constantine, Imerius, William of Champeaux, or Abelard—then gave so decisive an impulse to a single class of studies in his locality, that the place became known as the home of medicine, law, or theology, and attracted thither other teachers and students of similar tastes. An epoch was thus created in the development of the school. A university began—that is, a community of the learned—which soon assumed privileges of organization, self-government, and exemption from public burdens such as at that time were commonly accorded to trade guilds. The towns found the presence of large companies of scholars commercially valuable, and readily conceded moderate claims for privilege. In case of conflict with the towns, an appeal to pope or sovereign for protection generally brought a recognition as authoritative as any modern charter could give. These modes of semi-conscious growth the author illustrates at length by the examples of Salernum, Bologna, and Paris; the more intentional foundations, by the case of Prague.

For English readers this book probably offers the best brief account of the important subject with which it deals. Most teachers who read it will gain something. Yet it cannot be called a good piece of work. For treating coherently so long and complex a period in so brief a space, elaborate preliminary studies of original authorities are essential; and no less essential is the artistic planning of a scheme by which the mass of matter may be brought economically and in neat sequence before the reader's attention. There are no signs of such studies here, or of any such painstaking purpose to ease the student. Most of the authorities, when cited at all, are given at second-hand; and though each sentence is clear, there is no even development of the argument from cover to cover. Hundreds of valuable facts are shovelled together, with many repetitions, omissions, and allusions. Do we praise or condemn when we call the book "suggestive"?

The Military Annals of Tennessee: Confederate. First Series: Embracing a review of military operations, with regimental histories and memorial rolls, compiled from original and official sources, and edited by John Berrien Lindsley, M D., D.D. Printed for subscribers. Nashville: J. M. Lindsley & Co. 1886.

THIS is certainly a remarkable book. It is one of those publications of which Macaulay said they might have been light reading before the Deluge, when one who died at six hundred was regarded as having been cut off in his prime. Dr. Lindsley's book contains 910 closely printed pages, the steel engravings, of which there are about two score, not being included. And yet this is but the beginning. We are soon to have "The Index of Officers and the Index of Men," containing the names of 8,000 officers and 60,000 men. This in turn will be followed by a third series, giving biographical notes of the prominent Confederates. This last will complete the Confederate Annals. Dr. Lindsley will then undertake, on a commensurate scale, the general history of Tennessee, and will "edit and publish a series of volumes covering the whole field." It is possible that even the antediluvians might have rebelled at this point. Tennessee, Kentucky, and Louisiana are the only Southern States, not of the Continental Confederation, which have received extended historical treatment. But, with the exception of the "Commonwealth Series," almost exclusive attention has been paid to the early settlers. 'The Military Annals of Tennessee' is, in this respect, a pleasant exception.

We cannot but think Dr. Lindsley has made a mistake in the plan he has adopted. With all due respect for the brave men who fought for the Confederate cause, the monument can be justly considered out of proportion to the subject. In its present form, the book will hardly meet with any popular acceptance even in Tennessee, beyond those whom patriotic motives actuate. Outside of the State, its circulation will be confined to public libraries and compilers of encyclopædias. With the rest of the series, we have now nothing to do. But granting the plan of the present book, we are compelled to rate very high the execution of its details. It might be called simply a collection of regimental histories and memorial rolls. Each regiment of infantry and each regiment of cavalry receives separate treatment, the rolls being preceded in most cases by short sketches written by some one actively engaged in its campaigns. Most of the memorial rolls are official, having been copied from the archives in the War Department, by permission of Secretary Lincoln. The opening article is by J. M. Keating, on "Tennessee for Four Years the Theatre of War, 1861 to 1865," a concise and

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at times rather graphic account of the part played by Tennessee, or of the scenes enacted on Tennessee soil, during the progress of the great tragedy. Gen. A. P. Stewart's monograph (for such it is) on "The Army of Tennessee" is very fine of its kind, and is like a guiding lamp to one attempting to explore the caverns of this book.

The historical value, or, more accurately, the value to historians, of this work is very great. It cannot, of course, claim to be history—it hardly deserves the title of annals—archives would have been the proper word. But it supplies valuable material for the use of some future historian. If Dr. Lindsley carries out his present plan in reference to the general history of Tennessee, he will supply a mass of historical data surpassing the 'Annales Germaniæ.' It is an additional evidence of progressive enterprise as well as of the awakening of renewed literary activity in the South, that such a volume could have been written and printed exclusively in a State which, less than a quarter of a century ago, was one of the battle-grounds of a great civil war.

The typographical execution of the book is decidedly good and tasteful. The paper is thick and heavy, the type clear, the errors of the typesetter few, and the margin comfortably broad. The numerous steel engravings are equal to the average of such work.

Souvenirs of my Time. By Jessie Benton Frémont. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co.

Mr. Frémont belongs among that class of specially endowed women who are born to give social pleasure, of which the dames of the French salons are the historical type; and in her day she has seen so many interesting phases of life, and has gathered such a store of anecdotes by merely looking on at what was doing about her, that she makes reminiscence an unfailing source of entertainment. In this volume, which unfortunately is disfigured by some wretched illustrations, she directly addresses young people rather than the general public; but this need not really limit her audience, and it allows of a familiarity in tone, a conversational pitch, and a freedom which are natural graces, and harmonize well with her high spirits, vivacity, and light touch. As the daughter of Senator Benton she saw much of Washington society in its ante-bellum days, and, by virtue of her Virginia family connection, she knew well the men and manners of the Old Dominion, while, her father's home being at St. Louis, she spent a considerable part of her early life in the atmosphere of its old French and western-border associations. Afterwards, as the wife of General Frémont, she saw New Orleans and the Isthmus in a very familiar way on her journey to join him, in the California times; and when she reached San Francisco she began a new chapter of strange experience, in the course of which she discovered Bret Harte. The last half of her volume is devoted to foreign parts, where she had advantages in seeing whatever was to her taste; and she describes some scenes with English and Danish royalty in the foreground, a delightful Tyrolese excursion, and the Paris of the Second Empire, with the same enjoyment in them and eye for their qualities as she shows in her earlier political and pioneering recollections.

This is, we should say, preëminently a woman's book. The womanly element pervades it. The home of the Bentons, at Washington and St. Louis, is described with great feeling for its domestic side; and the strength of family ties, the regard for housewife ability in the management of an establishment with order and dignity, the minuteness with which gala costumes are remembered, and the feminine delight in their fabrics as well as their effects, the irrepressible tact, the profound respect for the men and women of the elder day, the humane feeling for every one with a weakness or a misfortune—are all recurring traits of the volume. The result is a really charming book of minor memoirs, for it is only of the little things that Mrs. Frémont writes—of what happened every day or at famous social fêtes, of how men looked and what happy passing remarks they made, and all such trivialities, which make up the course of life. There is more than one touching anecdote, or rapid, spirited vignette, or pleasant country scene. Mrs. Frémont has the art of brief narration, apparently, as a gift of nature, and she knows what is the essential and living thing in her memories of the past. The old French Count de la Garde is an admirable figure in drawing and life-likeness, and the sketch of his boyish appeal to Mme. Récamier is done with exceeding simplicity and economy. The old St. Louis nurse, the California Democrat, and the Catholic friends at the Isthmus, to mention no more, are studies that an old hand need not be ashamed of; and Count Bodisco's wedding, Mrs. Madison, the burning of Senator Benton's house (both houses of Congress adjourned at once to rush to the scene), and the visits she made to Jackson in her girlhood, are pictures of Washington life, full of reality, and historic, now that those days and their usages have so utterly passed away. Mrs. Frémont was remarkably well favored by her position; she united in her life the interests and affections and purposes of the different parts of the country, and was a national woman in a true sense—not Virginian, or Western, or Unionist only, but an American. Her associates were the distinguished men of the older and the younger period, and her family interests were those of the nation in a broad sense. Hence the wide range and the historic interest of these 'Souvenirs,' which, however, gain their best attraction from the author's character and the womanly charm so unconsciously exhibited. It is a good book for the girls, to whom much of it is addressed, and for the boys, who have their share of special attention; but older readers will enjoy it also, both for the story's and the writer's sake.

A Nomenclature of Colors for Naturalists, and Compendium of Useful Knowledge for Ornithologists. By Robert Ridgway. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1886. 8vo, pp. 129, pll. xvii.

Less than half of this treatise is devoted to the nomenclature of colors, treated under the heads of principles of color and general remarks, colors required by the zoölogical or botanical artist, and a comparative vocabulary of colors. It is prepared with the best of intentions, for which Mr. Ridgway should have full credit, as he should also for the pains he has taken in this step. But the accomplishment is not here, and the very serious defects of the work leave it little more than an indication of what might have been done. The author is not entirely responsible, perhaps, for such sad typographical errors as that, for example, which appears on page 29, where we are told that a mixture of sepia with French blue and cobalt produces ultramarine blue, or those which hopelessly confound plate 2. The value of the colored plates would have been greatly increased had white slips been attached to each in such manner as to hide from view all but a single one of the parallel columns of color-patches. As these patches stand all in sight at once, the contrasts of these columns of graded colors produce a temporary color-blindness, fatal to the nice discriminations the author seeks to convey to the eye. Again, if there ever was a case for chromotypy, this would seem to be one; yet the patches of color are all rude and irregular hand-painting, most of them mere smirches and daubs. But the idea and the aim of the author are admirable, and his object of establishing a uniform system of color-nomenclature for naturalists may yet be attained by the means he has endeavored to employ.

Part 2 consists of a glossary of technical terms used in descriptive ornithology, and tables for converting the metric system into English inches and conversely. The glossary is much like that furnished by Dr. Coues in Baird, Brewer, and Ridgway's 'History of North American Birds' (1874), but marred by some singularly unhappy definitions. Thus we are told that *gymnopædic* is "synonymous with ptilopædic," whereas it is just the opposite; *homalogonatous* is spelled "homologonatous"; a queer word, *interrhamal*, is said to mean 'between the forks or rhami of the lower jaw,' whence we presume *interramal* is meant; *limicoline* is defined as 'shore-inhabiting,' as if it were from *limes*, a limit, instead of being from *limus*, mud, as it is.

Probably the most satisfactory execution to be found in the treatise is the delineation of forms on plates 14 16, where such terms as "rhomboid," "quadrate," "ocellate," etc., are prettily illustrated by spots on single feathers.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Alcott, L. M. La Petite Rose, ses six tantes et ses sept cousins. Adaptation par Stahl et Lermont. Christern.
Bascom, J. Sociology. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.25.
Beaumont, Mrs. B. Twelve Years of My Life: An Autobiography. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bros. $1.50.
Bedside Poetry: A Parents' Assistant in Moral Discipline. Compiled by W. P. Garrison. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co. 75 cents.
Bemis, Dr. E. W. Coöperation in New England. American Economic Association. 75 cents.
Benjamin, S. G. W. The Story of Persia. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.50.
Black, H. C. An Essay on the Constitutional Prohibitions against Legislation Impairing the Obligation of Contracts, and against Retroactive and Ex-Post-Facto Laws. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.
Blackmore, R. D. Springhaven: A Novel. Harper's Franklin Square Library. 25 cents.
Bourget, Paul. André Cornelis. Christern.
Brette, Rev. P. H. E. An Introduction to French Prose Composition. Harper & Brothers.
Bryans, C. Cæsar. *Gallic War IV.* Macmillan & Co. 40 cents.
Crosby, W. O. Geological Collections: Mineralogy. Boston: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
Davis, L. S. Studies in Musical History. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.25.
De Vere, Sir S. E. Translations from Horace, and a Few Original Poems. With Latin Text. 2d ed., enlarged. London: George Bell & Sons.
Dodd, Anna Bowman. Cathedral Days: Tour Through Southern England. Illustrated. Boston: Roberts Brothers. $2.
Goebel, Prof. K. Outlines of Classification and Special Morphology of Plants. A new edition of Sachs's Text-Book of Botany. Book II. Illustrated. Macmillan & Co. $5.25.
Haggard, H. R. Jess: A Novel. Harper & Brothers.
Hasskarl, Rev. G. C. H. Evolution as Taught in the Bible. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society.
Hayes, A. A. The Jesuit's Ring: A Romance of Mount Desert. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.
Hearn, L. Some Chinese Ghosts. Boston: Roberts Brothers. $1.
Hervilly, E. d'. Cinq anniversaires de Molière. Boston: Schoenhof.
History of the New York Stock Exchange and the New York and the London Clearing-House Systems. The Financier Co. 50 cents.
Holland, Canon H. S. Creed and Character: Sermons. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.50.
How Private George W. Peck Put Down the Rebellion; or the Funny Experiences of a Raw Recruit. Illustrated. Belford, Clarke & Co.
"Jak." Professor Johnny. Thomas Y. Crowell. $1.25.
Jay, J. The Fisheries Dispute: A Letter to the Hon. William M. Evarts. Dodd, Mead & Co.
Johnston, W. Arguments to Courts and Juries. 1846—1874. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. $3.
Long, A. L. Memoirs of Robert E. Lee: His Military and Personal History, together with Incidents relating to his Private Life subsequent to the War. Collected and edited with the assistance of Marcus J. Wright. Illustrated. J. M. Stoddart & Co.
Longfellow, H. W. The Golden Legend. With Notes by Samuel Arthur Bent. In 2 Parts. Part II. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 15 cents.
Luce, Dr. L. H. A Synopsis of the Nature and Effects of Alcohol and Narcotics. Boston: D. C. Heath. 10 cents.
Marston, Dr. L. M. Essentials of Mental Healing; the Theory and the Practice. Boston: The Author.
Maupassant, Guy de. Mont-Oriol. Christern.
Miesse, C. Points on Coal and the Coal Business. Myerstown, Pa.: Feese & Uhrich.
Modern Etiquette in Public and Private. Frederick Warne & Co. 50 cents.
Morning Glories. A Volume of Fugitive Verse. Brooklyn: Charles N. Andrews.
Murrell, Dr. W. Massage as a Mode of Treatment. 2d ed. Philadelphia: P. Blakiston, Son & Co. $1.25.
Naftel, E. L. Lessing's Fables in Prose and Verse. Boston: Carl Schoenhof.
Naumann, E. The History of Music. Translated by F. Praeger. 2 vols. Illustrated. Cassell & Co. $10.
Nuttall's Standard Dictionary of the English Language. New ed., revised, extended, and improved, by the Rev. James Wood. Frederick Warne & Co. $1.50.
Oliphant, L. Haifa, or Life in Modern Palestine. Edited with Introduction, by Charles A. Dana. Harper & Brothers.
Parnell, G. S. Cornelius Nepos: Selections. Macmillan & Co. 40 cents.

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